

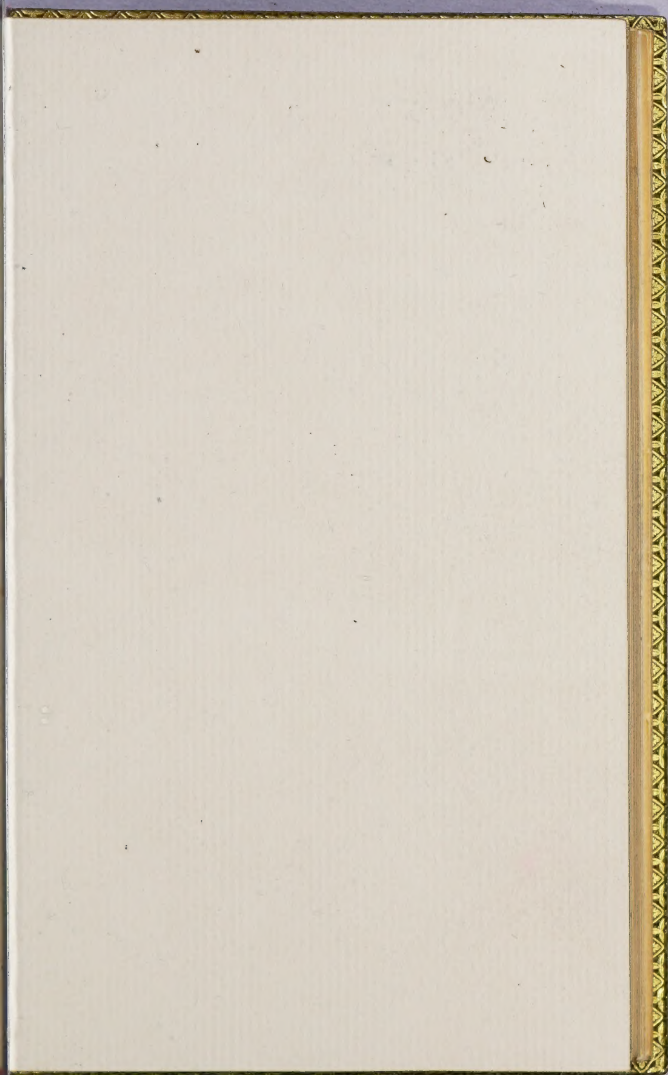


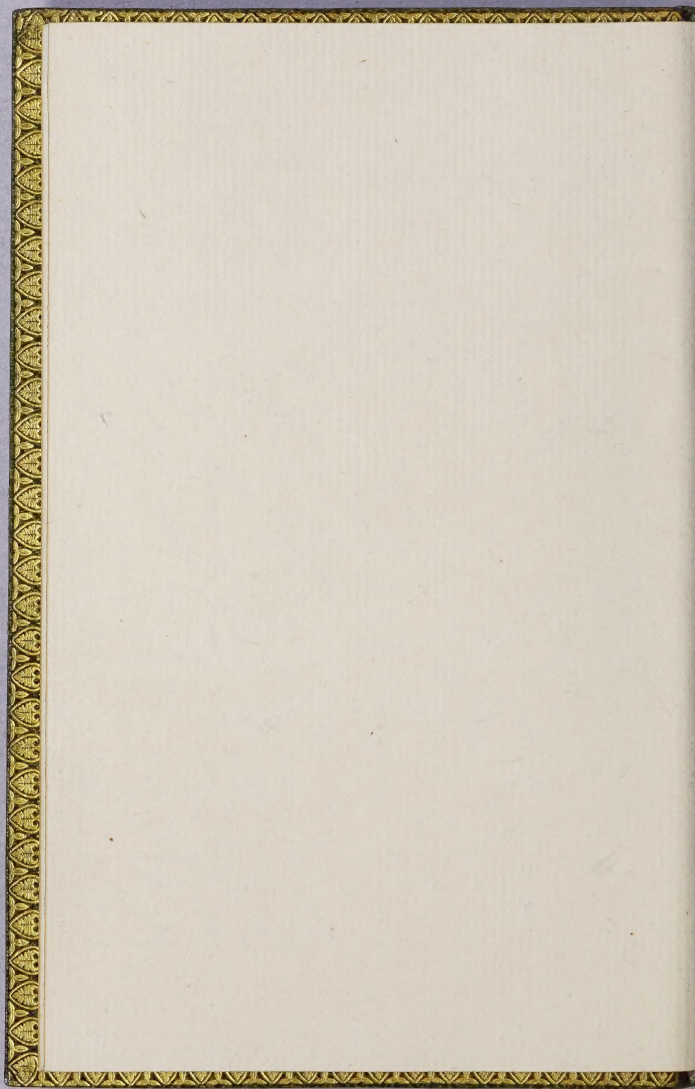
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Tam Marti, Quam Mercurio



The true and lively Portraiture
of the Ho.^{ble} and learned Knight
S.^r Walter Raleigh.
Re: Vaughan sculp.

JUDICIOUS
AND
Select Essayes
AND
OBSERVATIONS.

By that RENOWNED and
Learned KNIGHT.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

UPON

*The first Invention of Shipping.
The Misery of Invasive Warre.
The Navy Royall and Sea-Service.*

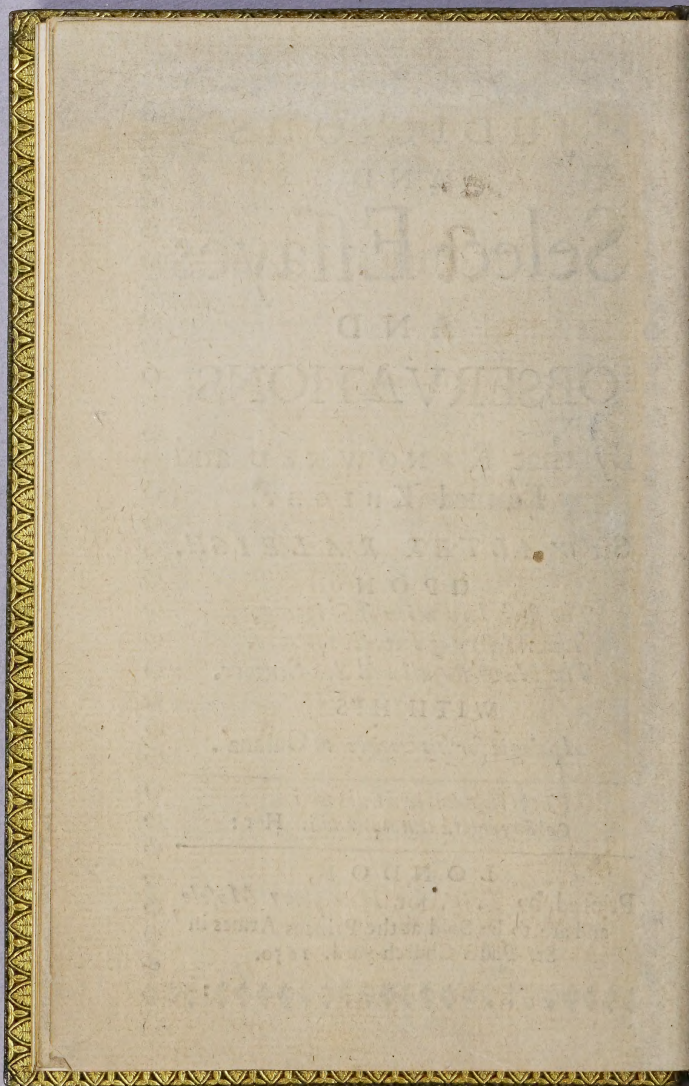
WITH HIS

Apologie for his voyage to Guiana.

*Virtus recludens immeritis mori
Cælum, negat à tentat iter viâ. Hor.*

LONDON,

Printed by T. W. for Humphrey Mosele
and are to be Sold at the Princes Armes in
St. Pauls Church-yard. 1650.





To the much Honored
CAREW RALEIGH Esquire,

Son to the most Excellent Sir

WALTER RALEIGH Kt.

SIR,

When these following
Papers came to my
hand, I could not
thinke of any person
so fit to protect them
as your selfe: Nor indeed is there
any to whom they are so naturally al-
lied; For we see the issue of the brain
doth live as long in the World, and
is as great a depositum to Posterity
as the most numerous Progeny. I am

one

one of those that believe, there can never be enough spoken in praise of your most Renowned Father; Whose Knowledge lay not in a little Compass, that could write the History of the whole World, a worke so fam'd that our Age can hardly parallel. And I am very confident that these Discourses (as that was) will be Generally accepted by all learned and knowing men, and amongst them more particularly by your selfe, which is the desire of

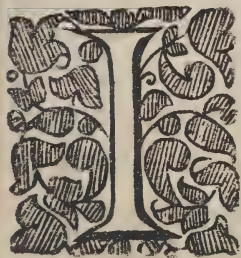
SIR

Your truly devoted in
all due observance

HUMPHREY MOSELEY



To the Reader.



T is apparent that nothing do's more Eternize men upon Earth, then their Writings. The Statues of the *Romane* Emperours time has moulderd to ashes, *quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque facta Sepulchris*; and Tombes themselves the Fates obey. But *Cæsars Commentaries*, the Dictates of *Marcus Aurelius*, the Workes and glories of those Men and Ages we

Juven.

The Epistle to

see perpetuated to all posterity. It is truly said, that *Boockes* shew in a little time what *Experience* teacheth not but with the expence of many yeares ; and how miserable had we been, had not the industrious Pens of severall Authors (famous in their times) buoyd up and left us Traces to follow them in the paths of Vertue. In every Generation there wanted not some, the flame of whose Torch is yet unextinguished : and I may with modesty appeale, whether the *Century* of yeares in which this worthy *Author* lived, may not equall (I would have said transcended) some Ages that wanted such a Person

the Reader.

Person to transmit it to Posterity
as renowned *Raleigh* was.
It cannot be accounted either
arrogancy or ostentation in *Augustus*
Cæsar who dying, desired
of his friends that stood about
his Bed, That when he expired
they would give him a *Plaudite*,
as if he were conscient to him-
selfe he had plaid his part well
upon the Stage. Nor will it of-
fend any I am sure to say, That
this most worthy *Herve* truly
deserved the *Plaudites* and *En-*
comiums of the *Amphitheaters* of
the whole Universe. Twas well
observed by him that writ the
lives of so many Noble *Greekes* *Plutarch*.
and *Romans*, They are wise that in
Tragicall

The Epistle to

Tragicall Events doe carry an invincible heart, reasonably obeying Necessity and a more high Providence then that of Man. And aswell by another, The greatnesse of the mind never sheweth it self more cleerly then amongst the wounds of Fortune. How fitly appropriate these sayings are to him, let them judge that knew his actions. But I come not here to give a Character of our Author; that were but to hold a Candle in the Sun, or by drawing shadows to hinder the cleare beauty of the Picture. Reader, thou hast enough of him in his *History* of the *World*, which speaks him to *Fame*; only thou mayst herein truly lament, That
Fortune

The Epistle to

Fortune was so bitter to him and us to deprive us of that happiness in snatching him hence before his perfecting that glorious worke: However it may prompt thee to value at a higher rate this his *Posthume Production*. Now it is not unlikely, that Custome expects something should be said in Commendation of these following Discourses, that would wrong rather then adde to their worth: No, *Raleighs* very Name is Proclamation enough for the *Stationers* advantage who, prays thee to believe this to be (what the Worke it selfe will assure thee) the legitimate issue of so excellent a Father. But to keepe thee

the Reader.

thee longer from the thing it self,
were by deteyning thee in the
Porch to envy thee the delight of
the Fabrick.



*A Discourse of the invention of Ships, Anchors, Com-
passe, &c. The first Naturall
warre, the severall, use, defects, and
supplies of Shipping, the strength, and
defects of the Sea forces of England,
France, Spaine, and Venice, To-
gether with the five manifest causes
of the suddaine appearing of the Hol-
landers, Written by Sir WALTER
RAWLEIGH.*

THat the Ark of *Noah*, was
the first Ship, because
the Invention of God
himself, although some
men have believed, yet
it is certaine, That the
world, being planted before the Flood,
the same could not be performed with-
out

out some transporting vessels; It is true, & the successe proves it, That there was not any so capacious nor so strong to defend it self against so violent, and so continued a powring down of raine, as the *Arke Noah*, the Invention of God himself, or of what fashion or fabrick soever, the rest withall mankind perished, according to the Ordinance of God. And probable it is that the Anchors, whereof *Ovid* made mention of, found on high Mountains: *Et inventa est in montibus Anchora Summis*; were remaining of Ships wrackt at the generall flood.

After the Flood, it is said, that *Minos*, who lived two discents before the War of *Troy*, set out Ships to free the Grecians Seas of Pyrats, which shews, that there had beene either trade, or Warre, upon the Waters before his time also.

The expedition of the *Arga-*
Pindar. *ants* was after *Minos*, And so
 was

was the plantation of *Tyrene* in *Africa*, by *Battus*, who was one of *Jasons* Companions, And that the *Tyrians* had Trade by Sea, before the Warre of *Troy*, *Homer* tells us.

Others give the first Dominion upon the Waters to *Neptune*, who, for the great exploits he did in the service of *Saburne*, was, by after ages, called the God of the Seas. But the *Corinthians* ascribe the invention of Rowing vessells, to a Citizen of their owne called *Amenocles*, And that the first Navall Warre, was made betweene the *Samiens* and *Cor-*
D: Sic. Lib. 6.
Lib Ger.
i. Cap. i.
cyriens.

Ithicus History changed into *Latine* by *St. Hierome*, affirms that *Griphon* the *Scythian*, was the inventor of long Boats, or Gallies, in the Northerne Seas; And *Strabo* gives the advise of the Anchor, with two Hookes to the *Scythian Anacharsis*, but the Greeks to *Eupolemus*.

It is also said, that *Icarus* invented the saile, and others other pieces, and parts of the ships and Boats, whereof the certaine knowledge is of no great moment, This is certaine, that the Sons, and Nephews of *Noah*, who peopled the Isles of the Gentiles, and gave their owne names to many of them, had vessells to transport themselves, long before the daies of *Minos*; And for my own opinion, I doe not thinke that any one Nation (the *Syrian* excepted) to whom the knowledge of the Arke came, as the story of the creation did, soone after *Moses*, did find out at once, the device either of ship or Boate, in which they durst venture themselves upon the Seas: But being forced by necessity to passe over Rivers, or Lakes, they first bound together certaine Reeds or Canes, by which they transported themselves: *Calamorum falces (saith D: Siculus) admodum ingentes inter se conjungunt.*

Others

Others made Raffles of Wood, and other devised the Boate of one tree called the *Canoa*, which the *Gaules* upon the River of *Roan*, used in assisting the transportation of *Hannibals* Army in his enterprife of *Italie*: *Primum Galli inchoantes cavabant Arbores* (saith *Livie*) But *Polydor Virgil*, gives the invention of those *Canoas*, to the *Germaines* inhabiting about the River of *Danubius*, which kind of Hollow trees, *Isidor* calls *Carabes*.

Livie 1. Lib.
Dec.

Polidor Lib.

3.

The *Brittains* had Boats made of Willow Twigs and covered on the outside with Bullock hydes, and so had the *Venetians*; of which *Lucan* *primum cana salix*, &c. *Malefacto*, &c. And *Julius Solinus* *Navigant autem Vimineis alveis quos circundant ambitione tergorum Bubalorum*: The same kind of Boats had the *Germaines* (saith *Isidor*) who in his time committed many Robberies in

Isidor Orig.
9. de Navig.
Cap; 1.

them : But whosoever devised the *Canoe* among the *Danubians*, or among the *Gaules*, sure I am, that the *Indians* of *America*, never had any trade with either of these Nations, And yet from *Fuobushers* straits, to the straits of *Magalaine*, those Boats are found, and in some parts of that length, As I have seene them rowed with twenty Oars of a side.

The truth is, that all Nations how remote soever, being all reasonable creatures, and enjoy one and the same Imagination and fantasie, having devised according to their means and materialls the same things.

The Eastern people, who have had from all Antiquitie, the use of Iron, have found out the Sawe, And with the Sawe, they have sundred Trees, in Boards and Plancks, And have joyned them together with Nayles, and so made Boats and Gallies safe and portable, So have they built Cities, and
Towns.

Townes of Timber and the like in all
 else.

On the contrary, the *West-Indies* and
 many Nations of the *Africans*, wan-
 ting means and materialls, have been
 taught by their own necessities to passe
 Rivers in a Boate of one Tree, and to
 tye unsquared Poles together, on the
 top for their houses, which they co-
 ver with large leaves, yea the same
 Boats, and the same buildings, are
 found in Countries, two thousand
 miles distant, debarred from all com-
 merce, by unpassable Mountains,
 Lakes, and Deserts; Nature hath taught
 them all to choose Kings and Cap-
 tains for their leaders, And Judges.
 They all have lighted on the invention
 of Bowes and Arrowes, All have Tar-
 ges and wooden Swords: All have
 instruments to encourage them to
 fight: All that have Corne beate it in
 Morters, and make Cakes, baking
 them upon Slatestones: All devised

Lawes without any grounds had from the Scriprures, or from *Aristotles Politiques*, whereby they are governed: All that dwell neere enemies impale their villages to save themselves from surprize, yea besides the same inventions, All have the same naturall impulsions, They follow nature in the choice of many wives, and there are every where among them, which out of a kind of wolvissh ferocitie, eat mans flesh; yea most of them beleive in a second life, and they are all of them Idolaters in one kind or other.

For the Northerne parts of the world, It was long ere they grew to any perfection in Shipping, For wee read that *Hingest*, and *Horfa*, Came over into this Land in long Boats, in which for the first being called in by the *Brittains*, they transported five thousand souldiers. And that after they came with a supply of ten thousand more Shipt in thirty vessells, which

which the *Saxons* call *Keeles*, And our old Historians *Cogiones*, And in *Cæsar*'s time, the *French Brittain*s who were then esteemed the best *Brittaine* Sea men, had very untoward Tubs in which they made Warre against him. For they tooke the winds in Sailes of Leather, heavy and unplyable, And they fastned their ships to the ground, and rid at Anchor with Cables of Iron Chains, having neither Canvas, nor Cordage. In so much as the best of them which were of *Vannes*, are described with high heads raised up deformedly above the rest of the buildings, to which kind of forme that they were constrained, the reason is manifest. For had their Cables of Iron chains held any great length, they had been unportable, And being short, the Ships must have sunck at an Anchor, in any streame of weather or Countertyde, And such was their simplicitie in those dayes, As instead

stead of accommodating their furniture to their Ships, they formed their ships to their furniture; Not unlike the Courtiers of this age who fit their Bodies and their Feet to their Doublets and Shooes, and not their Doublets and Shooes to their Bodies, and Feet.

The *Pomerlanders* inhabiting the South part of the *Baltick*, or *Eastland Sea*, used a kind of Boate, with the prow at both ends, so as they need not to wend or hold water, But went on and returned indifferently, of which:

Tacitus de moribus German;

Tacitus Suionum hinc Civitates ipso in orceano præter viros armaque Classibus valent; forma navium, eo differt, quod utrinque prora paratam semper appulsui frontem agit: Nec velis ministrantur; nec remos in ordinem lateribus adiungant. Solutum ut in quibusdam fluminum & mutabile ut res possit hinc vel illinc remigium:

Next

Next are the Cities of the *Swionum* which are mighty at Sea, not only in men and armes, but in Fleete: The forme of their vessells differ in this, That a Prowe at each end enables them to row forward either way alike: Neither use they Sayles, nor place their oars in order upon the sides, but carrying the oare loose, They shift it hither and thither at pleasure, as is the manner in some Rivers, Yea at this time both the Turkes and Christians use these kind of Boats upon the River of *Danubius*, and call them *Nacerne*.

True it is, that before *Cæsars* Inva-
ding of this Land, we doe find that the
Brittains had not any shipping at all,
other then their Boats of Twigs co-
vered with hydes as aforesaid.

The *Saxons* when they were drawne
in by the *Brittains*, came hither by
Sea. And after that time finding that
without Shipping they could neither
defend themselves nor exercise any
Trade,

Trade, They began to make some provision for a Navy, such as it was, which being first considered of by *Egbert*, *Alfred*, *Edgar*, and *Etheldred*, augmented it, and how true it is, I know not, but it is written of *Edgar*, that he increased the Fleete, he found, two thousand six hundred saile: After whom *Etheldred* made a Law, That whosoever was Lord of three hundred and ten hide Land, should build and furnish one ship for the defence of their Country.

Notwithstanding all these provisions, the *Danes* invaded them, and having better ships then they had, made their way for a new conquest.

The *Normans* grew better Shipwrights then either of both, and made the last conquest of this Land, a Land which can never be conquered, whilst the Kings thereof keep the Dominion of the Seas, which Dominion I doe not find, that it was ever absolute, till the

he time of *Henry* the Eight, But
that we fought sometime with good,
sometime with ill successe, as we shall
shew hereafter more particularly.

But omitting the dispute of the first
Navigators, Certaine it is, that the In-
vention of the compasse was had from
our Northerne Nations, were it from
the *Germans*, *Norwegians*, *Brittanes*, or
Danes, for even to this day, the old
Northerne words are used for the di-
vision of winds upon the quarter of
the compasse, not only by the *Danes*,
Germans, *Swedes*, *Brittanes*, and all
in the Ocean, that understand the
termes and names of the winds in their
owne language: But the French and
Spanish called the sun rising winds,
East or East, and the sunne setting
winds West, the rest North and
South, and so by the same termes, In all
the Divisions of Southeast, Northeast,
Southwest, Northwest, and the rest.

And if we compare the marveilous
great

great transportations of people by the Saxons, Angles, Danes, Gothes, Swedes, Norwegians, especially and other. And how many Fleets for supplies, have been set out by them, with the swarmes of Danes aswell in our Seas, as when they invaded and conquered Scicilie, together with the Colonies, planted by the Tyrians in Africa, as else where, and of the Carthaginians the Sons of the Tyrians in Spaine.

Its hard to judge which of these Nations have most commanded the Seas, though for priority Tribullus, and Ovid give it the Tyrians.

*Prima ratam Ventis credere
Tribull E- re docta Tyros, And Ovid,
leg: Strab: Magna minerque fere quarum
Lib: 16. Regis altera. Gratias ; altera
Sydonias uterque sicca rates.*

And it is true, that the first good Ships were among the Tyrians, and they good and great Ships, not long after the Warre of Troy, and in Solo-
mons

mons time, they were of that account as *Solomon* invited *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, to joyne with him in his Journey into the East-Indies, for the *Israe- lites* till then, never traded by Sea, and seldome if ever after it, and that the *Tyrians* were the chiefe in that enter- prise, It appears in that they were cal- led *Nautas peritos maris*, in the He- brew (saith *Junius*) *homines* Junius. 1.
navium, And in our English King.
Marriners. Cap. 9.

It is also written in the second of *Chronicles* the eight. That *Hiram* sent *Solomon* Ships, *Et servos peritos maris*, And servants skilfull of the Sea, where- by it is probable, that the *Tyrians* had used the Trade of East-India before the dayes of *Solomon*, or before the Raigne of *David*, when themselves commanded the Ports of the Red Sea, But the *Edumæans* being beaten by *David*, and the Port of *Ezion-Ge- ber*,

ber, now subject to *Solomon*, the *Tyrians* were forced to make *Solomon* the cheife of that expedition, and to joine with him in the enterprife. For the *Tyrian* had no passe to the Red Sea, but through the territory of *Solomon*, and by his sufferance.

Whosoever were the inventers, we find that every age, had added somewhat to ships, and to all things else. And in my owne time the shape of our English ships, hath been greatly bettered. It is not long since the striking of the Top-mast (a wonderfull great ease to great ships both at Sea and Harbour) hath been devised, together with the Chaine pumpe, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary did, we have lately added the *Bonnett*, and the *Drabler*. To the courses we have devised studding Sayles, Top gallant Sayles; Sprit stayles, Top stayles, The weighing of Anchors by the Capstone is also new. We have
fallen

fallen into consideration of the length of Cables, and by it we resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow, Witnesse our small *Milbrooke* men of *Cornewall*, that ride it out at Anchor, half Seas over betweene *England* and *Ireland*, all the winter quarter, And witnesse the *Hollanders* that were wont to ride before *Dankirke*, with the wind at Northwest, making a Lee hoare in all weathers: For true it is, that the length of the Cable, is the life of the Ship in all extreamities, and the reason is, because it makes so many bendings and waves, as the Ship riding at that length it is not able to stretch it, and nothing breaks that is not stretched. In extreamity, we carry our Ordnance better then we were wont, Because our Netheroverloops are raised commonly from the water, to wit, betweene the lower part of the Port and the Sea.

In King *Henry* the eight's time, and
B in

in this present, at *Portsmouth* the *Marie Rose*, by a little sway of the Ship in casting about, her Ports being within sixteene Inches of the waters, was overset and lost, and in her that worthy Knight *Sir George Carew*, Cozen Germane to the Lord *Carew*, and with him (besides many other Gentlemen) the Father of the late renowned, *Sir Richard Greenevile*.

Wee have also raised our second Decks and given more vent thereby to our Ordnance, tying on our Nether-overloope.

We have added crosse pillars in our Royall ships to strengthen them, which be fastned from the Kelson to the beams of the second Decke, keepe them from settling or from giving way in all distresses.

We have given longer Floares to our Ships, then in elder times, and better bearing under water, whereby they never fall into the Sea, after the head
and

and shake the whole body, nor sinck
terne, nor stoope upon a wind, by
which the breaking loose of our Ord-
nance or the not use of them, with ma-
ny other discommodities are avoided.

And to say the truth a miserable
shame and dishonour it were for our
Shipwrights, if they did not exceed all
other, in the setting up of our Royall
ships, the Errors of other Nations
being farre more excusable then ours.
For the Kings of *England* have for ma-
ny years been at the charge to build
and furnish a Navy of powerfull
ships, for their owne defence, and for
the Wars only.

Whereas the *French*, the *Spaniards*,
the *Portugalls*, and the *Hollanders* (till
of late) have had no proper Fleete be-
longing to their Princes or States.

Only the *Venetians* for a long time
have maintained their Arsenal of Gal-
lies, & the Kings of *Denmark*, and *Swe-
den*, have had good Ships for these last

Fifty years, I say that the forenamed Kings, especially the *Spaniards* and *Portugalls*, have ships of great bulke, but fitter for the Merchant then for the man of Warre, for burthen then for Battaile: But as *Popelinire* well observeth, the forces of Princes by Sea, are *Marquess de Grandeux d'Estate*. Are marks of the greatnesse of an Estate: For whosoever commands the Sea, Commands the Trade: whosoever Commands the Trade of the world: Commands the Riches of the world and consequently the world in selfe: yet can I not deny, but that the *Spaniards* being afraid of their *Indian* Fleets, have built some few very good ships, but he hath no ships in Garri-son, as his Majestie hath, and to say the truth, no sure place to keep them in; But in all Invasions he is driven to take up of all Nations, which comes into his Ports for Trade.

The *Venetians* while they attende
the

their Fleets, and imployed themselves in their Easterne Conquest, were great and powerfull Princes, and Commanded the Maritimate parts of *Croacia*, *Dalmatia*, *Albania*, and *Epirus*, were Lords of *Peloponesus*, and the Islands adjoyning, of *Cyprus*, *Candia*, and many other places, but after they sought to greaten themselves in *Italie* itself, using strangers for the Commanders of their armies; The Turkes by degrees beate them out of all their goodly Countreyes, and have now confined them (*Candia* excepted) to a few small *Grecian* Islands, which with great difficulty they enjoy.

The first honour they obtained, was by making Warre upon the *Istria* by sea, and had they been true to their promise, to wit the Seas, which once a year they marry, the Turks had never prevailed against them, nor ever been able to be siege any place of theirs, to which he must have transported

his armies by his *Gallies*.

The *Genowaies* were also exceeding powerfull by Sea, and held many places in the East, and contended often with the *Venetians* for superiority, destroying each other in a long continued Sea Warre, Yea the *Genowaies* were the most famous Mercenaries of all *Europe*, both by Sea and Land for many years.

The French assisted themselves by Land with the Crosbowers of *Genoa* against the English, namely at the Battaile of *Cressie*, The French had 12000 Crosbowers *Genowaies* by Sea. With their great ships called the Carrecks of *Genoa*, they alwayes strengthened their Fleets against the English. But after *Mahomet* the second had taken *Constantinople*, they lost *Cassia* and all *Taurica*, *Chersonesus* with the whole Trade of the *Euxine* Sea, and although they sent many supplies by the *Hellespont*, yet having often felt
the

he smart of the *Turks Cannon*, they began to slack their succours, and were soone after supplanted: yet doe the *Venetians* to this day, well mainetaine their estate by their Sea forces, and a great losse it is to the Christian Common-weale in generall, that they are lesse then they were, And a precipitate Counsell it was of those Christian Kings their Neighbours, when they joined in League against them, seeing they then were, and they yet are, the strongest Rampiers of *Europe* against the *Turks*.

But the *Genomaies* have now but a few Gallies being altogether degenerate, and become Merchants of money, and the Spanish Kings bankers.

But all the States and Kingdomes of the world have changed forme and pollicy.

The Empire it selfe, which gave sight to all principallities, like a *Pharos*, or high Tower to Seamen, is now

funck downe to the leuell of the soyle. The greatnesse which it gave to the Church of Rome as before proved, was it which made it selfe little in hast, And therefore truely said; *Imperium amore Religionis seipsum, Exhaustisse*, The Empire being also elective and not successive, The Emperors in being made profit of their owne times, and sold from the Empire many Signiories depending on it, and at so easy a rate, as *Lucca* freed it self for ten thousand Crownes; and *Florence* for six thousand Crowns; The rest, the Popes; then the *Hauses*, and lastly the *Turks* have in effect ruined. And in which severall Inundations many pieces have been recovered by other Princes and States. As *Basill*, *Zurick*, and *Bearne* by the *Switzers* (omitting many others) *Metz* *Tholouse*, *Verdum*, by the French, *Groigne* *Aix la Chapple*, *Zurphen*, *Deuenter*, *Newengen*, in *Gilderland*, *wesell*, *Antwerpe*, And many other

other places by the Spaniards; and by the States, *Dantzick* and other townes of importance by the *Polack*. Inso-much as it is now become, the most confused estate of the world, Consisting of an Empire in title with territory, who can ordaine nothing of importance but by a dyet or assembly of the Estates of many free Princes, Ecclesiasticall and Temporal; in effect of equall force, divers in Religion and faction, and of free Cities and Hanstownes, whom the Princes doe not more desire to Command, then they scorne to obey, Notwithstanding being by farre lesse then they were in number and lesse in force and Reputation, as they are not greatly able to offend others, so have they enough to doe (being seated farre asunder) to defend themselves, of whom hereafter more particularly.

The *Cassilians*, in the meane while are growne great, and by mistaking esteemed

steemed the greatest, Having by Marriage, Conquest, practise, and purchase, devowred all Kingdomes within *Spaine*, with *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Milaine*, and the *Netherlands*, And many places belonging to the Empire and the Princes thereof. Besides the *Indies* East and West, The Islands of the *West Ocean*, and many places in *Barbary* *Guiana*, *Congo* and else where.

France hath also enlarged it self by the one half, and reduced *Normandy*, *Brittaine*, and *Aquitaine*, withall that the English had on that side the Sea, together with *Languedocke* *Foix*, *Armignac*, *Beerne*, and *Dolphine*.

For this Kingdome of great *Brittaine*: it hath had by his Majesty a strong addition, The posterne by which we were so often heretofore entered and surprised, is now made up; and we shall not hereafter need the double face of *Janus* to looke North and South at once.

But

But there is no state growne in haste, but that of the united provinces, and especially in their Sea forces, and by a contrary way to that of *France*, or *Spaine*, the latter by Invasion, the former by oppression; For I my self may remember when one ship of her Majesties, would have made forty *Hollanders* strike sayle, and to come to Anchor. They did not then dispute *De mari libero*, but readily acknowledged the English to be *Domini maris Brittanici*: That we are lesse powerfull then we were, I doe hardly beleave it, For although we have not at this time 135 ships, belonging to the subjects, of 500 tuns each ship, as it is said we had in the 24. yeare of Queen *Elizabeth*, at which time also upon a generall view and muster, there were found in *England* of all men, fit to beare armes, eleaven hundred and seaventy two thousand, yet are our Merchants ships, now farre more warlike
and

and better appointed then they were, and the Navy Royall double as strong as then it was, For these were the ships of her Majesties Navy at that time.

1. The *Triumph*.
2. The *Eliz: Ionas*.
3. The *White Beave*.
4. The *Phill: and Mary*.
5. The *Bonaventure*.
6. The *Golden Lion*.
7. The *Victory*.
8. The *Revenge*.
9. The *Hope*.
10. The *Mary Rose*.
11. The *Dreadnaught*.
12. The *Minion*.
13. The *Swiftsure*.

To which there hath been added.

14. The *Antelope*.
15. The *Forefight*.
16. The *Swallow*.
17. The *Handmaide*.
18. The *Gennett*.
19. The *Barque of Bullen*.
20. The *Ayde*.
21. The *Achates*.
22. The *Falcon*.
23. The *Tyger*.
24. The *Bull*.

We have not therefore lesse force then we had, the fashion and furnishing of our Ships Considered: For there are in *England* at this time 400. saile of Merchants fit for the Wars, which the *Spaniards* would call *Gal-lions*; to which we may adde 200 saile of *Crumsters*, or hoyes of *Newcastle*, which

which each of them will beare six Demiculverins, and foure *Sakers*, needing no other addition of building, then a slight spar Decke, fore and after as the Seamen call it, which is a slight Decke throughout, the 200, which may be chosen out of 400, by reason of their ready staying and turning, by reason of their windwardnesse, and by reason of their drawing of little water, And they are of extreame vantage neere the shoare, And in all Bayes and Rivers to turne in and out: These, I say, alone, well manned, and well Conducted, would trouble the greatest Prince of *Europe* to encounter in our Seas, For they stay and turne so readily, As, ordering them into small squadrons, three of them at once, may give their broad sides, upon any one great ship, or upon any Angle or side of an enemies Fleet, They shall be able to continue a perpetuall volley of Demiculverins without

out intermission, And either sinck or slaughter the men, or utterly disorder any Fleet of crosse sailes, with which they encounter.

I say then if a *Vanguard* be ordeined of these *hoyes*, who will easily recover the wind of any other ships, with a Battaile of 400 other warlike ships, and a Reare of thirty of his Majesties ships to sustaine, relieve and countenance the rest (if God beat them not) I know not what strength can be gathered in all *Europe* to beat them. And if it be objected, that the States can furnish a farre greater number, I answer that his Majesties 40 ships, added to 600 before named, are of Incomparable greater force, then all that *Holland* and *Zeeland*, can furnish for the Wars. As also that a greater number would breed the same confusion, that was found in *Zerxes* Land Army of seaventeene hundred thousand souldiers : For there is a certaine proportion

ortion both by Sea and Land, beyond which, the excesse brings nothing but disorders and amazement.

Of those *hoyes*, *Carvills*, or *Crummers*, Call them what you will, there was a notable experience made in the yeare, 1574. in the River of *Antwerpe*, eere *Rummerswaell*, where the Admirall *Boysett* with his *Crumsters* overthrow the Spanish Fleet of great ships Conducted by *Julian Romero*, so contrary to the expectation of *Don Lewis*, the great Commander and Lieutenant of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spaine*, as he came to the banks of *Bergen* to behold the slaughter of the *Zelanders*. But contrary to his expectation, he beheld his *Armado*, some of them sunck, some of them thrust on the shoare, and most of the best mastered and possessed by his enemies. Infomuch, as his great Captain *Romero*, with great difficulty, some say in a skiffe, some say by swymming, saved himselfe.

The

The like successe had Captaine werst of Zeeland, against the Fleet which transported the Duke of *Medini Cæli*, who was sent out of Spaine by Sea, to governe the *Netherlands*, in place of the Duke of *Alva*, For with twelve *Crumsters* or *Hoyes* of the first troope of 21. sayle, he tooke all but three, and he forced the second (being twelve great ships filled with 2000. souldiers,) to run under the *Ramakers*, being then in the *Spaniards* possession.

But whence comes this dispute? Not from the increase of numbers, Not because our Neighbours breed more Marriners then we doe, Nor from the greatnesse of their Trade in all parts of the world, For the *French* creepe into all corners of *America*, and *Africa*, as they doe, and the *Spaniards*, and *Portugalls*, imploy more ships by many (fishing trades excepted) then the *Netherlands* doe. But it comes

comes from the detestable covetous-
ness of such particular persons as
have gotten Licences, and given way
to the transporting of the English
Ordnance. *Fuit hec Sapientia quon-
dam, publica privatis secernere, Sa-
ra profanis.* And that in so great a-
bundance, as that not only our good
friends the *Hollanders*, and *Zealanders*,
have furnished themselves, and have
them lying on their Wharves to sell
to others; but all other Nations have
had from us, not only to furnish their
fleets, but to Garnish all their Forts
and other places, fortifying their
Coasts; without which the Spanish
King durst not have dismounted so
many pieces of Brasse in *Naples* and
else where, therewith to Arme his
great Fleete in 88. But it was directly
proved in the Lower House of Parlia-
ment *Anno* of Queene Elizabeth.
That there were landed in *Naples* a-
bove 140. Culverins English, since
C which

which time also, and not long since, It is lamentable that so many have beene transported into *Spaine*. But those that belike then determined it, and the transporters, have now forsaken the Country, and though the procurers remaine, I am resolved that they also have forsaken the care of his Majesties Estate, And the honour of this Nation. I urge not this point as thinking it unfit, to furnish his Majesties good friends and Allyes, who have had with us one common enemy for many yeares; But all politique Estates have well observed this precept: *ut sic tractarent amicum; tanquam inimicum futurum*: For what are all the Ships in the world to be valued at, other then a company of floating tubs, were they not furnished with Ordnance, either to offend others, or defend themselves? If a Ship of a thousand tons had in her a thousand Musketeers, and never a great Gun; with
one

one *Crumster*, carrying ten or thirteene Culverins, she may be beaten to pieces, and her men slaughtered. Certainly the advantage which the English had by their Bowes and Arrowes in former times, was never so great, as we might now have had by our Iron Ordnance, if we had either kept it within the Land, kept it from our enemies, or imparted it to our friends, moderately; For as by the former we obtained many notable victories, and made our selves masters of many parts of *France*, so by the latter we might have Commanded the Seas, and thereby the Trade of the world it selfe. But we have now to our future prejudice, and how far to our prejudice I know not, forged Hammers and delivered them out of our hands, to breake our owne Bones withall.

For the conclusion of this dispute, there are five manifest causes of the growing of the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*,

C 2

1. The

1. The first is, the favour and assistance of Queene *Elizabeth*, and the Kings Majesty, which the late worthy and famous Prince of *Orange*, did alwayes acknowledge, and in the yeare 1582. when I tooke my leave of him at *Antwerpe*, After the returne of the Earle of *Leicest* : into *England*, And Monsieur's arrivall there, when he delivered me his Letters to her Majesty ; He prayed me to say to the Queen from him, *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protegimur* : for certainly they had withered in the Bud, and sunck in the beginning of their Navigation, had not her Majesty assisted them.

2. The second cause was, The employing of their owne people in their Trades and Fishings, and the entertaining of strangers, to serve them in their armies by Land.

3. The third is, the fidelity of the house of *Nassawe*, and their services done them, especially of that Renowned

owned Prince *Maurice*, now living.

4. The fourth, the withdrawing of the Duke of *Parma* twice into *France*, while in his absence he recovered those strong places of *Zealand*, and *Frizland*, as *Deventer Zuphen*, &c.

5. And the fifth, the imbarging and confiscating of their Ships in *Spaine*, which constrained them and gave them courage to Trade by force into the East and West *Indies*, and in *Africa*, in which they imploy 180 Ships, and 8700 Marriners.

The successe of a Counsell so contrary to their wisdome that gave it, is all the wit, and all the force the *Spaniards* have, will hardly (if ever) recover the damage thereby received.

For to repaire that ruine of the *Hollanders* trade into both *Indies* the *Spaniards* did not only labour the truce: but the King was content to quit the Sovereigntie, of the united Provinces, and to acknowledge them for free
C 3 States,

States, neither holding nor depending on the Crowne of *Spaine*. But be their estates what it will, let not them deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves masters of the Sea, For certainly the shipping of *England*, with the great Squadron of his Majesties Navy Royall, are able in despite of any Prince or State in *Europe*, to Command the great and large Field of the Ocean. But as I shall never thinke him a Lover of this Land, or of the King, that shall perswade his Majesty from imbracing the amity of the States of the united Provinces: (For his Majesty is no lesse safe by them, then they invincible by him :) So I would wish them, (Because after my duty to mine owne Sovereaigne and the love of my Country, I honour them most) That they remember and consider it, that seeing their passage and Repassage, lyes through the British Seas, that there is no Port in

France

France, from *Callice* to *Flushing*, that can receive their ships, that many times outward by Westerly winds, and ordinarily homewards, not only from the *East Indies*, but from the *Straits*, and from *Spaine*, all Southerly winds (the Brises of our Clymate) thrust them of necessity into the Kings ports, how much his Majesties favour doth concerne them, for if (as themselves confesse in their last treaty of Truce with the *Spaniards*) They subsist by their trades, the disturbance of their trades (which *England* can only disturb) will also disturbe their subsistence. The rest I will omit, because I can never doubt, either their gratitudes or their wisdomes. For our *Newcastle* trade, (from which I have digressed) I refer the Reader to the Author of the trades increase, a Gentleman to me unknowne, But so far as I can judge, he hath many things very considerable, in that short treaty of his;

yea both considerable and praise worthy, and among the rest, the advise which he hath given for the maintenance of our *Hoyes*, and *Carvills* of *Newcastle*, which may serve us, besides the breeding of Marriners for good ships of Warre, and of exceeding advantage, and certainly I cannot but admire, why the Impositions of five shillings should any way dishearten them, seeing there is but one Company in *England*, upon whose trade any new payment are layd, But that they on whom it is laid raise profit by it, The Silkemen, if they pay his Majesty twelve pence upon a yard of Sattin, they not only raise that twelve pence, but they impose twelve pence or two shillings more upon the subject, so doe they upon all they sell of what kind soever: as all other Retaylers doe, of what quality or profession soever: And seeing all the Maritime provinces of *France*, and *Flanders*, all
Holland

Holland and Zealand, Embden and Breame, &c. Cannot want our Newcastle, or our Welsh Coales, The Imposition cannot impoverish the transporter; but that the buyer must make payment accordingly; And if the Impositions laid on these things, whereof this Kingdome hath no necessary use, as upon Silkes, Velvets, Gold and Silver Lace, and cloaths of Gold, and Silver, Cut works, Cambricks, and a world of other trumperies, doth in nothing hinder their vent here: But that they are more used, then ever they were, to the utter impoverishing of the Land in generall, and of those *Popinjays* that value themselves by their out sides, and by their Players coats, Certainly the imposing upon Coales, which other Nations cannot want, can be no hinderance at all to the Newcastlemen, but that they may raise it againe upon the *French* and other Nations, as those Nations themselves doe,

doe, which fetch them from us with their owne shipping.

For conclusion of this Chapter, I say that it is exceeding lamentable, that for any respect in the world, seeing the preservation of the State and Monarchie, doth surmount all other respects, that strangers should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our owne Commodities, and those of Forreigne Nations: For it is no wonder we are overtopped in all the trades we have abroad and far off, Seeing we have the grasse cut from under our feet in our fields and pastures.

F I N I S.

A
DISCOURSE
OF THE
ORIGINALL
AND
Fundamentall Cause of
Naturall, Customary, Arbitrary,
Voluntary and Necessary
WARRE.

With the MYSTERY of
Invasive WARRE.

That Ecclesiasticall Prelates, have
alwayes beene subject to Temporall
Princes. And that the Pope had never any law-
full power in *England*, either in Civill, or
Ecclesiasticall businesse, after such time, as
Brittaine was won from the Ro-
man Empire.

By Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight.

L O N D O N,

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are to be Sold at the Princes Armes in
St. Pauls Church-yard. 1650.

1870

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A Discourse of the Originall and fundamentall cause of Naturall, Customary, Arbitrary, Voluntary, and necessary war, with the misery of invasive warre. That Ecclesiasticall Prelates, have alwayes been subject to Temporall Princes, and that the Pope had never any lawfull power in England, either in Civill, or Ecclesiasticall, businesse, after such time, as Brittain was won from the Roman Empire.



The ordinary Theme and Argument of History is War, which may be defined the exercise of violence under Sovereigne Command, against withstanders force, Authority and resistance

2 *Mystery of Invasive War, &c.*

resistance, being the essentiall parts thereof, violence limited by authority is sufficiently distinguished from Robbery and the like outrages: yet consisting in relation towards others. It necessarily requires a supposition of resistance, whereby the force of War becomes different from the violence inflicted upon Slaves, or yeilding Malefactors; as for Armes, Discipline, and whatsoever else belongeth to the making of War prosperous, they are only considerable in degree of perfection, since naked savages fighting disorderly with stones, by appointment of their Commanders, may truly and absolutely be said to War.

Neverthelesse, it is true, that as the Beasts are armed with fierce teeth, pawes, horns, and other bodily instruments of much advantage against unweaponed men, so hath reason taught man to strengthen his hand with such offensive Armes, as no creature else

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else can well avoid or possibly resist. And it might seeme happy, if the sword, the Arrow, the Gun, with many terrible Engines of death, could be wholly imployed in the exercise of that Lordly rule, which the Lord of all hath given to mankind over the rest of living things. But since in humane reason there hath no meanes been found of holding all mankind at peace within it self: It is needfull that against the wit and subtilty of man, we oppose not only the bruite force of our bodyes, (wherein many Beasts exceed us,) but helping our strength with art and wisdom, strive to excell our enemies in those points wherein man is excellent over other Creatures.

The necessity of War, which among humane Actions is the most lawlesse, hath some kind of affinity, and neere resemblances with the necessity of Law. For there were no use at all, either of War or of Law;
If

4 *Mysery of Invasive War, &c.*

If every man had prudence to conceive how much of right were due both to and from himselfe, and were withall so punctually just, as to performe what he knew requisite, and to rest contented with his owne. But seeing that no conveyance of Land can be made so strong, by any skill of Lawyers, with multiplicity of clauses, and provisoes, That it may be secure from contentious *Avarice*, and the malice of false seeming Justice: It is not to bee wondered, that the great Gen. Cap. Charter, whereby God be-
I. ver. stowed the whole earth upon
28. *Adam*, And confirmed it unto the Sons of *Noah*, being as breife in word, as large in effect, hath bred much quarrell of interpretation.

Surely howsoever the Letter of that Donation, may be unregarded by the most of men, yet the sense thereof is so imprinted in their hearts, And so passionatly imbraced by their greedy desires,

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desires, As if every one laid claime for himself unto that, which was conferred upon all.

This appeared in the *Gaules*, who falling upon *Italy* under their Capitaine *Brennus*, told the Roman Ambassadors plainly that prevalent arms were as good as any title, and that valiant men might account to be their owne as much as they could get ; That they wanting Land therewith to susteine their people, And the *Tuscanes*, having more then enough, It was their meaning to take what they needed by strong hand, if it were not yeilded quietly. Now if it be well affirmed by Lawyers, that there is no taking of possession more just, then *In vacuum venire*, to enter upon Land uninhabited, As our Countrymen have lately done in the Summer Islands : Then may it be inferred, that this demand of the *Gaules*, held more of reason then could be discerned at the first view.

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For if the title of occupiers be good, in a Land unpeopled, why should it be bad accounted in a Country Peopled over thinly? should one family or one thousand hold possession of all the Southerne, undiscovered continent, because they had seated themselves in *Nova Guiana*, or about the *Straits of Magalane*? why might not the like be done in *Africk*, in *Europe*, or in *Asia*? If this were most absurd to imagine, Let then any mans wisdom determine by lessening the Territory, and increasing the number of Inhabitants, what proportion is requisite to the peopling of a Region in such manner, That the Land shall be neither too narrow for those whom it feedeth, nor capable of a greater multitude; Untill this can be concluded and agreed upon, one maine and fundamentall cause of the most grievous Warre that can be imagined, is not like to be taken from the Earth. It were

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were perhaps enough in reason to succour with victualls and other helps, a vast multitude compelled by necessity to seeke a new seate, or to direct them unto a Country able to receive them : But what shall perswade a mighty Nation to travaile so farre by Land, or Sea, over Mountaines, Deserts, And great Rivers, with their Wives and Children, when they are, or thinke themselves powerfull enough to serve themselves neerer hand, and inforce others into the Labour of such a Journey ? I have briefly shewed in an other worke, that the miseries accompaning this kind of War, are most extreame. For as much as the *Invad-ers* cannot otherwise be satisfied then by rooting out or expelling the Nation upon which they fall.

And although the uncertainty of treasure, by which all worldly things are held, minister very unpleasant meditation;

Generall History Lib. 2.
Cap. 2. 28. S.
4. T. 3.

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tion; yet is it most certaine that within 1200. yeares last past, all or the most of *Kingdomes* to us knowne, have throughly felt the calamities of such forcible trasplantations, being either over whelmed by new Collonies that fell upon them, or driven, as one wave is driven by an other, to seeke new seates, having lost their owne.

Our Westernne parts of *Europe* indeed have cause to rejoyce, and give praise to *God*, for that we have been free about 600 yeares, from such Inundations, As were those of the *Gothes*, *Humes*, and *Vandalls*, yea from such as were those of our owne Ancestors, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, But howsoever we have together with the feeling, lost the very memory of such wretchednesse, as our Fore-fathers endured by those Wars, of all other the most cruell. Yet are there few *Kingdomes* in all *Asia* that have not been ruined by such overflowing multitudes

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tudes within the same space of these last six hundred yeares.

It were an endlesse labour to tell how the *Turks*, and *Tartars* falling like *Locusts* upon that quarter of the world, having spoiled every where, and in most places Eaten up all, as it were by the roots, Consuming together with the Princes formerly Reigning and a world of people, the very names, language and memory of former times. Suffice it that when any Country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it, there is a naturall necessity compelling it to disburthen it self and lay the Load upon others, by right or wrong. For (to omit the danger of Pestilence often visitting those which live in a throng) there is no misery that urgeth men so violently unto desperate courses, and contempt of death, as the Torments or Threats of famine: whereof the Warre that is grounded upon this generall remediless necessity,

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sity, may be tearmed the generall, the
Remedileffe, or the neces-
First Warre. sary War. Against which
that our Country is better provided
(as may be shewed hereafter) Then
any civill Nation to us knowne, we
ought to hold it a great blessing of
God, And carefully retaine the advan-
tages which he hath given us now.

Besides this remedileffe or necessary
Warre, which is frequent,
Second Warre. There is a Warre voluntary,
and Customeable, unto which
the offering party is not compelled.
And this Customary Warre, which
troubleth all the world, giveth little
respice or breathing time of peace,
doth usually borrow pretence from
the necessary to make it self appeare
more honest. For Covetous Ambi-
tion thinking all too little which pre-
sently it hath, supposeth it self to stand
in need of all which it hath not.

Wherefore if two bordering Prin-
ces

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ces have their Territory meeting on an open Champaigne, the more mighty will continually seeke occasion, to extend his limits unto the further border thereof.

If they be divided by Mountaines they will fight for the mastery of the passages of the Tops, And finally for the Towns that stand upon the roots.

If Rivers run between them, they contend for the Bridges, And thinke themselves not well assured untill they have fortified the further banck.

Yea the Sea it selfe must be very broad, barren of fish, and void of little Islands interjacent, else will it yeild plentifull argument of quarrell to the Kingdomes which it severeth.

All this proceeds from desire of having, and such desire from feare of want.

Hereunto may be added, That in these Arbitrary Wars, there is commonly to be found, some small mea-

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sure of necessity, though it seldome be observed, perhaps, because it extendeth not so far, as to become publique. For where many younger sonnes of younger Brothers, have neither Lands nor means to uphold themselves, and where many men of Trade or usefull possessions, know not how to bestow themselves for lack of Employments, there can it not be avoided that the whole body of the State (howsoever otherwise healthfully disposed) should suffer anguish by the greivance of those ill affected Members.

It sufficeth not that the Country hath wherewith to susteine even more then live upon it, if means be wanting, whereby to drive convenient participation of the generall store unto a great number of well deservers.

In such cases there will be complaining, Commiseration, and finally murmur (as men are apt to lay the blame of those evils whereof they know the ground

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ground upon publike misgovernment) inlesse order be taken for some redresse by the sword of Injury, supposed to be done by Forreigners, whereto the discontented sort give commonly a willing eare. And in this case I think it was, that the great Cardinall *Francis de Amiens* who governed *Spaine* in the minority of *Charls* the fift, hearing tell that 8000. *Spaniards* were lost in the enterprise of *Algier*, under *Don Diego de Vera*, made light of the matter: Affirming, that *Spaine* stood in need of such evacuation, forreigne Warre serving (as King *Ferdinand* had been wont to say) like a potion of *Rubarbe*, to wash away Choler from the body of the Realme.

Certainly among all Kingdomes of the earth, we shall scarce find any that stands in lesse need then *Spaine*, of having the veines opened by an enemies sword: The many Colonies which it sends abroad so well preserving

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ving it from swelling humors.

Yet is not that Country thereby dispeopled, but mainteineth itill growing upon it (like a tree, from whose plants to fil a whole *Orchard*,) have bin taken as many, as it can well nourish.

And to say what I think, if our King *Edward* the third, had prospered in his French Wars and peopled with English the Towns which he won, As he began at *Calice* driving out the *French*, the Kings his Successors, holding the same course would by this time have filled all *France*, with our Nation, without any notable emptying of this Island.

The like may be affirmed upon like suspicion of the *French* in *Italy*, or almost of any others, as having been verified by the *Saxons* in *England*, and *Arabians* in *Barbarie*; What is then become of so huge a multitude as would have over spread a great part of the Continent? surely they dyed not
of

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of old age, nor went out of the world by the ordinary wayes of nature. But amine and contagious diseases, the sword, the halter, and a thousand mischiefs have Consumed them.

Yea many of them perhaps were never borne: for they that want means to nourish Children will abstaine from marriage, or (which is all one) they cast away their bodies upon rich old women: or otherwise make unquall or unhealthy Matches for gaine, or because of poverty they thinke it a blessing, which in nature is a curse, to have their wives barren.

Were it not thus, *Arithmeticall* progression might easily demonstrate, how fast mankind would increase in multitude, overpassing as miraculous (though indeed naturall) that example of the *Israelites*, who were multiplied in 215. yeares, from seaventie unto 600000. able men. Hence we may observe, that the very propagation of our kind,

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kind, hath with it a strong insensive even of those daily Wars, which afflict the earth. And that Princes excusing their drawing the sword by devised pretences of necessity, speake often more truly then they are aware, there being indeed a great necessity, though not apparent, as not extending to the generality, but resting upon private heads.

Wherefore other cause of Warre meerly naturall there is none, then want of roome upon the earth, which pinching a whole nation, begets the remediless Warre, vexing only some number of particulars, It draws on the Arbitrary: But unto the kindling of Arbitrary Warre, there are many other motives. The most honest of these is, feare of harme and prevention of danger. This is just and taught by nature, which labours more strongly in removing evill, then in pursuite of what is requisite unto her good.

Never-

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Nevertheless, because Warre cannot be without mutuall violence: It is manifest, that allegation of danger and feare serves only to excuse the suffering part, the wrongdoer being carried by his owne will. So the Warre thus caused proceeds from nature, not altogether but in part.

A second motive is, Revenge of injury sustained; This might be avoided if all men could be honest; otherwise not. For Princes must give protection to their Subjects and adherents, when worthy occasion shall require it, else will they be held unworthy, and unsufficient: then which there can be to them no greater perill.

Wherefore *Cesar* in all deliberations where difficulties and dangers threatned on the one side, and the opinion that there should be in him *Parum Præsidi* little safeguard, for his friends, was doubted on the other side, alwayes chose rather to venture upon
extrea-

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extreamities then to have it thought that he was a weake protector. Yea by such maintenance of their dependants. Many Noblemen in all formes of Government, and in every mans memory have kept themselves in greatnesse with little help of any other vertue. Neither have meere Tyrants been altogether carelesse to maintaine free from oppression of strangers, those Subjects of theirs, whom themselves have most basely esteemed and used, as no better then slaves. For there is no master that can expect good service from his bondslaves, if he suffer them to be beaten and daily ill intreated by other men: To remedy this, it were needfull that Justice should every where bee duly ministred aswell to strangers as to *Denizons*. But contrarie-wise we find, that in many Countreys (as *Muscovie* and the like) the Laws or the Administration of them are so far from giving satisfaction, as they fill

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fill the generall voice with complaint and exclamation.

Sir *Thomas Moore* said, (whether more pleasantly or truly I know not) that a trick of Law had no lesse power then the wheele of fortune, to lift men up, or cast them downe.

Certainly with more patience men are wont to endure the losses that befall them by meere casualty, then the damages which they susteine by means of injustice, Because these are accompanied with sense of indignity, whereof the other are free: when Robbers break open a mans house and spoile it, they tell the owner plainly that money they want, and money they must have: But when a Judge corrupted by reward, hatred, favour, or any other passion, takes both house and Land from the rightfull owner, And bestowes them upon some friend of his owne, or of his favorite, He saies, that the rules of Justice will have it so, that it is the
voice

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voice of the Law, the Ordinance of God himselfe. And what else doth he herein, then by a kind of Circumlocution tell his humble supplicants that he holds themselves Idiots or base wretches not able to get releife; must it not astonish and vex withall, any man of a free spirit when he sees none other difference betweene the Judge and the Theefe, then in the manner of performing their exploits? as if the whole being of Justice consisted in point of formality. In such case an honest Subject will either seeke remedy by ordinary courses, or awaite his time untill God shall place better men in office, and call the oppressors to account. But a stranger wil not so, he hath nothing to do with the affairs of *Barbary*, neither concerns it him what officer be placed or displaced in *Taradante*, or whether *Mulifidian* himself can contemne the Kingdome, his Ship and goods are unjustly taken from him, and

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and therefore he will seeke leave to
right himselfe if he can, and returne
the injury ten fold, upon the whole
Nation from which he received it.
Truth it is, that men are sooner wea-
ry to dance attendance at the Gates
of forreigne Lords, then to tarry the
good leisure of their own Magistrates;
Nor doe they beare so quietly the losse
of some parcell confiscated abroad,
as the greater detriment which they
suffer by some prowling *Vice-Admi-
all, Customer*, or publique minister at
their returne.

Whether this proceed from the
Reverence which men yeild unto their
proper Governour, I will not here de-
cline, or whether excesse of trouble in
following their causes far from home,
or whether from despaire of such re-
resse, as may be expected in their
owne Country, in the hoped reformati-
ons of disorders, or whether from
their more unwillingnesse to disturbe

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the Domesticall then the forreigne quiet by loud exclamations, or whether perhaps their not daring to mutter against the Injustice of their owne Rulers, though it were shamefull, for feare of faring worse, and of being punished for *Scandalum Magnatum*: As slanderers of men in authority, wheresoever it comes; As there can be but one Allegiance, so men are apt to serve no more then they needs must. According to that of the Slave in an old Comœdie: *Non sum servus publicus*, my Master bought me for himself, and I am not every mans man.

And this opinion, there is no Prince unwilling to mainetaine in his owne Subjects. Yea such as are most Rigorous to their owne, Doe never find it safe to be better unto strangers, because it were a matter of dangerous Consequence, that the People should thinke all other Nations to be in better case then themselves. The breife
is,

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s, Oppression in many places weares
the Robes of Justice, which Domineer-
ing over the naturalls, may not spare
strangers, And strangers will not en-
dure it, but cry out unto their owne
Lords for releife by the Sword.
Wherefore the Motive of Revenging
injuries is very strong, though it meer-
ly consist in the will of man, with-
out any inforcement of nature.

Yet the more to quicken it, there is
usually concurrent therewith, A hope-
full expectation of gaine. For of the
mends recovered, Little or nothing
returns to those that had suffered the
wrong, but commonly all runs into
the Princes Coffers. Such examples
as was that of our late Queen *Eliza-*
eth of most famous memory, are ve-
ry rare. Her Majestie when the goods
of our English Merchants
were attached by the Duke
of *Alva*, in the *Netherlands*, And by
King *Philip* in *Spaine*, arrested,

Anno Domini
1569.

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Likewise the goods of the *Low dutch* here in *England*, that amounted unto a greater value : Neither was she contented that her Subjects should right themselves as well as they could, upon the *Spaniards* by Sea, But having brought King *Philip* within foure or five years, to better reason, though not so far as to Restitution ; She satisfied her owne Merchants to the full, for all their losses out of the *Dutchmens* goods, and gave back to the Duke what was remaying. This among many thousand of her Royall Actions, that made her glorious in all Nations, though it caused even strangers in their speech and writing to extoll her Princely Justice, to the skies : yet served it not as a President for others of lesse vertue to follow.

It were more costly to take patterne from those Acts, which gave Immortall renowne to that great Queen, then
to

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to imitate the thirsty dealing of that *Spanish Duke*, in the self same busines, who kept all to his owne use, or his Masters, Restoring to the poore *Dutch Merchants* not one penny. It falls out many times indeed, that a Prince is driven to spend far more of his treasure in punishing by War the wrongers of his people, Then the losse of his People did amount unto. In such cases it is reason, that he satisfy himself, and let the people (whereto commonly they are apt) rest contented with the sweetnesse of revenge.

But when victory makes large a-mends for all, it Royally becomes a Prince, to satisfy those for whose satisfaction he undertooke the Warre. For besides the purpose it were now, to teach how victory should be used, or the gaines thereof Communicated to the generall content. This being only brought into shew, that the profit thereby gotten, is a stirring pro-

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vocation to the redresse of Injuries by the sword. As for the redresse of Injuries done unto Princes themselves, it may conveniently (though not alwayes, for it were miserable injustice to deny leave to Princes of mainetaining their owne honour, be referred unto the third motive of Arbitrary Warres, which is meere Ambition.

This is and ever hath been that true cause of more Wars, then have troubled the world upon all other occasions whatsoever, though it least partake of nature, or urgent necessity of State. It call not here alone by the name of Ambition, that vaine glorious humour, which openly professeth to be none other, and vaunts it selfe as an imperiall vertue (for the examples are not many of that kind :) But where occasion of Warre is greedily sought, or being very slight is gladly entertained, for that increase of Dominion

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is hoped thereby, we should rather impute the Warre to the scope at which it aimeth: then to any idle cause pretended.

The *Romans* feared lest they of *Carthage* by winning *Messana* should soone get the mastery over all *Sicilie*, And have a faire entrance at pleasure into *Italy*: Which to prevent they made a Warre upon the *Carthaginians*; this feare I call Ambition, Had they not trusted in their own Armes, hoping thereby to enlarge their empire, but being weaker, and more afraid indeed, they would have feared lesse.

For Colour of this Warre they tooke the *Mamertines*, A Crewe of Theeves, and cut throats into their protection; Whom being their associates they must needs defend. But had not their Ambition been mightier then their Justice, they would have endeavoured to punish these *Mamertines*,

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tines, and not to protect them. Innumerable are the like examples: *Know ye not* (said *Ahab*) *that Ramoth Gilead is ours?* He knew this before, and was quiet enough, till opinion of his forces, made him looke into his right. And of this nature (though some worse then other in degree) are claims of old forgotten tribute or of some acknowledgements due perhaps to the Ancestors of a vanquished *King*, And long after challenged by the Heirs of the *Conqueror*, broken titles to *Kingdomes* or *Provinces*, Maintenance of friends, and Partizans, pretenced wrongs, and indeed, whatsoever it pleased him to alleadge that thinketh his owne sword sharpest: But of old time (perhaps before *Helen of Greece*, was borne) Women have been the common Argument of these Tragedies. As of late Ages in our parts of the world, since the names of *Guelf*, and *Ghibeline*, were heard, The right
of

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of St. Peter, that is the Popes Revenues and Authority.

This last and other of the same kind know not, how patiently they will endure to be ranged among Ambitious quarrels: For the Warre that hath such foundation, will not only be reputed, free from worldly Ambition, Lust, and honourable, But holy, and meritorious: having thereto belonging Pardon of Sins, Release from Purgatory, And the promises of the life to come, As may be seen in the Popes *Prociata*.

The truth is, that the *Saracenes*, affirm no lesse of the Warres, which either they make against *Christians*, or which arise between themselves from difference of Sect. And if every man had his due, I thinke the honour of devising first this Doctrine: That Religion ought to be enforced upon men by the sword, would be found appertaining to *Mahomet* the false Prophet, sure,

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sure, it is, that he and the *Caliphes* following him obtained thereby in a short space a mighty Empire, which was in faire way to have enlarged, untill they fell out among themselves. Not for the *Kingdome of Heaven*, But for *Dominion upon Earth*. And against these did the *Popes*, when their authority grew powerfull in the west incite the *Princes of Germany, England, France, and Italie*. Their chiefe enterprise was the Recovery of the *Holy Land*. In which worthy, but extremely difficult action, it is lamentable to Remember, what abundance of noble *Blood* hath been shed, with very small benefit unto the *Christian State*.

The Recovery of *Spaine* (whereof the better part was then in Bondage of the *Saracens*,) had been a worke more availeable to the men of *Europe*, more easily mainetained with supply, more aptly serving to advance any following

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owing enterprise upon *Kingdomes* further removed, more free from hazard, and Requiring lesse expence of Blood. But the honourable piety of the undertakers could not be terrified by the face of danger, nor diverted from this to a more commodious business, by any motives of profit or facility, for the Pulpits did sound in every Parish *Church* with the praises of that voyage, as if it were a matter, otherwise far lesse highly pleasing unto God, to beare Armes for defence of his ruth against prosecutors, or for the Deliverance of poore *Christians* oppressed with slavery, then to fight for that selfe same Land, wherein our Blessed *Saviour* was borne and Dyed: By such perswasions a marvellous number were excited to the Conquest of *Palestina* which with singular vertue they performed (though not without exceeding great losse of men) and held that *Kingdome* some few generations.

But

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But the Climate of *Syria*, the far distance from the strength of *Christendome*, And the neer Neighbourhood of those that were most puissant among the *Mahometans*, caused that famous enterprize, after a long continuance of terrible War, to be quite abandoned.

The care of *Jerusalem* being laid aside, it was many times thought needfull to repress the growing power of the *Turke* by the joint forces of all *Christian Kings* and Commonwealths, And hereto the *Popes* have used much perswasion and often published their *Crociata* with pardon of sins to all that would adventure in a worke so Religious. Yet have they effected little or nothing, and lesse perhaps are ever like to doe. For it hath been their Custome so shamefully to misuse the fervent zeale of men to Religious Armes by converting the Monies, that have been Leaved
vyed

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yed for such Wars, to their owne services, and by stirring up *Christians* one against an other, yea against their owne naturall *Princes*, under the like pretences of serving *God* and the *Church*, that finally men waxed weary of their turbulent spirits, And would not believe that *God* was carefull to maintaine the *Pope* in his quarrells, or that Remission of sins past, was to be obtained by Committing more and more grievous, at the instigation of his suspected holinesse.

Questionlesse there was great reason, why all discreet *Princes* should beware of yeilding hasty beliefe to the Robes of Sanctimonie.

It was the Rule of our Blessed *Saviour*, *By their works you shall know them*, what the works of those that occupied the *Papacie*, have been since the dayes of *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* who first enabled them with Temporall donation, The *Italian* writers have

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have testified at large. Yet were it need-
lesse to Cite *Machiavell*, who hath Re-
corded their doings, and is therefore the
more hatefull, or *Guicciardine*, whose
works they have gelded, as not endu-
ring to heare all that he hath written,
though he spake enough in that which
remains. What History shall we
Read (excepting the *Annales* of *Cæ-
sar Baronius*, And some books of *Fry-
ars*, or *Fryarly Parasites*) which men-
tioning their A&S doe not leave wit-
nesse of their ungodly dealing in all
quarters.

How few *Kingdomes* are there (if a-
ny) wherein by dispensing with others,
transferring the right of *Crowns*, Ab-
solving Subjects from alleageance, and
cursing or threatning to curse as long
as their curses were regarded, they have
not wrought unprobable mischiefs?

The shamelesse denyall hereof by
some of their friends, And the more
shamelesse justification by their flat-
terers,

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ers, makes it needfull to excuse, which I had rather forbear, as not lo-
ing to deale in such contentious ar-
guments, were it not follieto be mo-
lest in uttering what is knowne to all
he world. Pitty it is, that by such
lemanour they have caused the
Church (as *Hierome Savanarola*, and
before him *Robert Grossthead* Bishop
of *Lincolne* prophecied) to be reform-
ed by the sword. But God would
have it so. How farre the Popes bles-
sing therefore did sanctifie the enter-
prise upon *Jerusalem* it rests in every
mans discretion to Judge.

As for the honourable *Christians*
which undertooke that conquest to
justifie their Warre, they had not
only the redresse of injuries and pro-
tection of their oppressed Brethren,
But the repelling of danger from their
owne Land, threatned by those mis-
beleivers when they invaded.

If the Popes extortions (which were
not

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not more forcible then those of *Peters* the *Hermits*) added spirit unto the action: yet altered they not the grounds of the Warre, nor made it the more holy. Let the Indulgences of *Pope Leo*, the tenth, beare witness of this, who out of politick feare of the *Turkes* violence urged a Religious contribution towards a Warre to be made upon them. The necessity of that which hee propounded was greater doubtlesse then any that had perswaded the Conquest of *Palestina*.

But too foule and manifest was the unholinesse of obtruding upon men Remission of sins for money, That the Sums which *Pope Leo* thereby raised and converted to his owne uses, have made his Successers loosers by the bargain even to this day.

Pius the Second, formerly well knowne by the name of *Aeneas Silvius*, was discernedly reckoned among the few good Popes of latter ages, who

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who neverthelesse in a Warre of the same Religious nature, discovered the like (though not the same) imperfection.

His purpose was to set upon *Mamomet* the great, who had newly won the *Empire* of *Constantinople* and by carrying the Warre over into *Greece*, to prevent the danger, threatening *Italy*.

In this action highly Commendable, he intended to hazard his owne person, that so the more easily hee might win adventurers, who else were like to be lesse forward, as not unacquainted with such Romish tricks; yet was not his owne devotion, so zealous in pursuit of this holy businesse, but that he could stay a while, and convert his forces, against *Mahomet* Lord of *Rimini*, letting, *Scanderbeg* waite his Leisure, who had already set the Warre on foote in *Greece*. or (said he) we first subdue the little

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Turke,

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Turke, before we medle with the great, He spake reason if we regard policy. But attending one to Religion find we not, that he held the Chastisement of one which molested the Sea of *Rome*, a like pleasing to *God*, as would have been the holy *warre*, against the Common Enemy of our Christian Faith? So thought all the rest of those *Bishops*. And so much more (upon their severall occasions) declared themselves to thinke it, by how much they were commonly worse men then this *Aeneas Silvius*. And good reason was there that they should be of such beliefe, or Endeavour to make the Christian world believe none otherwise. For the naturall Constitution of their estate (I meane since the age of *Pepin* and *Charlmaine*, or the times not long foregoing, hath urged them all hereto; though peradventure some few *Popes* may have been overlewd, by their own private

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private natures, and thereby have swayed from the rule of policy. To speake in generall, whosoever hath dominion absolute, over some, and authority lesse absolute over many more, will seeke to draw those that are not wholly his owne into intire subjection.

It fares with politick bodies as with the physicall; each would convert all into their owne proper substance, and cast forth as Excrement what will not be changed.

We need not Cite *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, nor *Philip* the Father of *Perseus*, Kings of *Macedon* for examples. Of which the former brought the *Thessalians*, the latter could have brought the *Acheans* and many estates in *Greece* from the condition of followers and dependants into meer vassallage.

Philip the second of *Spaine* is yet fresh in mind, who attempted the selfe upon the *Netherlands*.

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Exceptions may be framed here against one, of the honest, quiet, or timorous disposition of some Princes yet that all, or the most are thus inclined, both reason and experience teach yea even our Cities and Corporations here in *England*, such as need the protection of great Men, Complain otherwhiles of their patrons overmuch diligence, either in searching into their private estates, or behaving themselves master-like in point of government, But never hath authority better means to enlarge it self, then when it is founded upon devotion And yet never doth authority of this kind, worke to raise it self unto meer dominion, untill it fall into the hand of those whose piety is more in seeing, then indeed.

The *Leviticall Priests*, in the old Law never arrogated unto themselves any Temporall or Coactive power Nor advanced their Miters against the

Crown

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Crowne of Israel. They well understood what authority God had committed unto them and rested therein withall content. Some wrangling thereabout hath been of late; The *Popes* utterers labouring to prove, That the high *Priests* of old were not meerly Subject unto the Kings of *Juda*, and men of better spirit and learning living shewed the contrary.

But whatsoever befell in those times, when there was no King in *Israel*, that is, before the Reigne of *Saul*, or after the Captivity of *Babel*, yet it is that the sons of *Aaron* were waies obedient unto the sons of *David*, And acknowledged them their Lords. As for the race of the *Maccaes*, that held both the *Kingdome* and the *Priesthood* at once, It falls not within this Consideration; the first whereof (of whom I read) that used the advantage of honour given to him in the matter of Religion towards the

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getting of Temporal possession, was (if not *Mahomet* himselfe) *Abubachar* the Successor unto *Mahomet*, This man having obtained by help of his friends, the miserable happinesse of being chosen heire unto that foole Impostor in his dignity of a Prophet, made it one of his first works to dispoile poor *Alisse* the Nephew of *Mahomet*, and heire of his great riches, taking al from him by this pretence, That unto whom belonged the Succession in wisdome, unto him also belonged the Succession in wealth. And this grew presently to be a famous question among the *Doctors* of the *Saracen* Law. But howsoever it were then decided, we see now the *Muphti* or high Prelate, who is the only Oracle among the *Turkes* in Spirituall matters, lives and holds all that he hath at the discretion of the great *Sultan*.

Neverthelesse it should seeme that the doctrine of *Abubachar*, hath not
lost

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lost all force, for the examples are many in all *Saracen* Lands, of Prophets or deceivers which got that name, that never rested untill they became Kings.

The *Seriph* in *Barbarie*, was one of the last: who having once acquired the opinion of an holy Man, afterward found means to become a Captain, and Lord of a small Territory; And finally increased his followers, and withall his bounds so fast and so far, as having made himself King of *Morocca*, he had the grace to tell the King of *Fessy*, (lately his Sovereigne) that both *Fesse* and all *Kingdomes* in those parts were belonging to his own colineffe; and this he made good by winning all sooner after.

Whether the claime which the Popes laid to a Supremacie over all *Kingdomes* and estates, had not affinity with the principle of *Abubachar*, Let other men Judge that their practi-

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ses to mainetaine it, have been futable to those of *Seriffo*, all Historians doe testifie.

For when *Pope Gregory* the second, procured the Citie of *Rome*, and some other places in *Italie* to Rebell against the *Emperour Leo*, the third, what other colour used he, then that himself had Excommunicared *Leo*, as an ungodly *Prince*, for breaking downe Images, that were worshipped in *Churches*, when for this treason *Paul* the *Exarch*, Lieutenant unto the *Emperour*, besieged *Rome* with the assistance of *Lueitpraud* King of the *Lumbards*, by what other art did the Pope remove the siege, then by perswading the *Lumbard* with a Tale of *Peter*, and *Paul*, that had consecrated the Citie of *Rome* with their pretious blood. Thus was devotion made the Cloake for treason? And thus did the Popes first slip their necks out of the *Emperours* collar. Within very few years after

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After this, by the like Religious pretext were those Princes of *France*, *Charls Martell*, *Pepine*, and *Charlemaine*, won to assist the *Papacie*, against the *Lumbards*, yea, to give unto *St. Peter*, the most of those Lands which the *Pope* now holds in *Italie*, And not restore them to the *Emperour*, from whom the *Lumbards* had gotten them. And thereunto *Pepine*, was perswaded for his *Souls* health.

Yet had *Pope Zachary* through the opinion that went of his holinesse, done a notable good office for *Pepine* before, when he Released the *Frenchmen* of their Oath to King *Chilperick*, And was the cause that *Pepine* was chosen in his stead, by saying, That rather he should be King who did the Kings duty, then he that did it not.

In like manner did *Pope Leo* recompense the benefits of *Charlemaine*, by setting him up as *Emperour* in the west against those of *Constantinople*:

But

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But in these mutuall offices, the *Popes* did only help with gracefull words to adorne that might which *Pepine* and *Charlemaine* had before acquired. *Whereas* these Kings used force of arms to erect the papacy in Principallity; That was held yet in vassallage unto themselves. Now this could not satisfie the ambition of that See, which gloried falsly to be the only See Apostolique.

For as the Reputation of the *Romane* Prelats grew up in those blind ages under the *Westerne* Emperours, much faster then true *piety* could raise it, in former times when better Learning had flourished; So grew up in them withall a desire, of amplifying their power, that they might be as great in temporall forces as mens opinion have formed them in spirituall matters. Immediately therefore upon the death of *Charlemaine*, they began to neglect the *Emperours* consent in their Elections.

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Ele&ions. And finding in them that afterwards reigned of the house of *France*, either too much patience or too much weakenesse, they were bold, within seaventy years to decree, That in the Creation of *Popes*, the *Emperour* should have nothing at all to doe. Having obtained this, It followed that they should make themselves *Lord* over the whole Clergie in all Kingdomes.

But the worke was great, and could not be accomplished in hast, for they were much disturbed at home by the People of *Rome*; who seeing about Fifty *Popes* or rather (as mainetainers of the *Papacie*, would now have them called) Monsters to succeed one another, and attaine by the faction of Cut-throats, and Strumpets, *St. Peters Chaire*, despised that hypocrisy, which the world abroad did Reverence as holinesse.

Likewise the *Empire* falling from
the

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the line of *Charles*, to the mighty house of *Saxonie*, was so strongly upheld by the first Princes of that race, as it greatly curbed the ambition of those aspiring Prelats.

Yet no impediment could alwaies be of force to withstand the violence of seeming sanctity.

The *Polonians*, *Hungarians*, and some other farre removed Nations, had yeilded themselves in subjection more then meerely spirituall, even to those Popes whom *Italie* knew to be detestable men.

As for the *Romane* Citizens they were chastised by the sword, and taught to acknowledge the Pope their Lord, though they knew not by what right. Long it was indeed ere they could with much adoe be thoroughly tamed, Because they knowing the Lewdnesse of their Prelate and his Court, their devotion, unto him (the trade by which now they live) was very small.
Because

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Because also they were the Popes domesticall forces, against which no Prince doth happily contend. But finally the Popes Armes prevailed, or when his owne were too weake, the *Emperours* and other friends were helping. Contrariwise against *Emperours* and other Princes, the sword of the people even of their owne Subjects hath been used by teaching all *Christians* in our Westerne world a false Lesson. That it is lawfull and meritorious to rebell against Kings excommunicated and deposed by the Pope. This curse was first laid upon the *Emperour*, *Henry* the fourth by *Pope Hildebrand* or *Gregory* the seaventh. It is true (as I said before) that *Leo* of *Constantinople* had felt the same though not in the same sort. For *Leo* being excommunicated was not withall deposed; only he suffered a revolt of some *Italian* Subjects. And one may say, That the *Germane Empire* deserved

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deserved this plague, Since the founder thereof had given countenance to the Popes Rebelling against their Sovereigns the *Emperours of Constantinople*. Howsoever it were when *Hildebrand* had accursed and cast downe from his throne *Henry* the fourth, there were none so hardy as to defend their Injured Lord, against the Counterfeited name of *St. Peter*; Wherefore he was faine to humble himselfe before *Hildebrand*, upon whom he waited three daies beare footed in the *Winter* ere he could be admitted into his presence, Neither yet could he otherwise get absolution, then by submitting his estate unto the Popes good pleasure, what was his fault? He had refused to yeild up to the Pope, the investiture of Bishops, and Collation of Ecclesiasticall dignities within his dominions, a right that had alwayes belonged to Princes untill that day.

It were superfluous to tell how grievously

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ously he was afflicted all his life after; Notwithstanding this submission. In creise the unappeasable rage of *Hildebrand* and his Successors, never left persecuting him, by raising one Rebellion after an other; yea his owne Children against him, till dispoyled of his *Crowne*, he was faine to beg food of the Bishop of *Spyers*, promising to earne it in a *Church* of his own building, by doing there a Clarks duty, for he could serve the *Quire*, And not obtaining this, he pined away and dyed.

That Bishop of *Spyers* dealt herein perhaps rather fearfully, then cruelly, For he had to terrifie him, the example of *Vteilo* Archbishop of *Mentz* chiefe Prelate among the *Germans*. Who was condemned of heresie, for having denied that the Emperour might be deprived of his *Crowne* by the Popes authority.

If Princes therefore be carefull to
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exclude

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exclude the doctrine of *Hildebrand* out of their dominions, who can blame them of rigour?

This example of *Henry* though it would not be forgotten, might have been omitted, had it not been seconded with many of the same nature.

But this was neither one Popes fault, nor one Princes destiny; He must write a story of the Empire, that means to tell of all their dealings in this kind, As how they wrought upon *Henry* the fifth, whom they had set up against his Father, what horrible effusion of Blood they caused, by their often thundering upon *Fredericke*, And how they rested not untill they had made the Empire stand headlesse about seaventeene years.

These things moved *Rodolph* Earl of *Habspurgh* who was chosen Emperour after that long vacation to refuse the Ceremony of being Crowned at Rome, though he were therero urged by the Electors.

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Electors. For (said he) our *Cæsars*, have gone to *Rome*, As the foolish Beasts in *Aesops Fables* went, to the *Lyons Den* leaving very goodly footsteps of their journey thitherward, but not the like of their returne.

The same opinion have most of the succeeding Emperours held, all of them, or almost all neglecting that *Coronation*. Good cause why; Since the Popes (besides many Extortions which they practised about that Ceremony) Arrogated thence unto themselves, that the *Empire* was held of them in Homage, And dealt they not after the same fashion with other Kingdomes?

What right had *St. Peter* to the *Crowne* of *Sicily*, and of *Naples*? The *Romane* Princes wonne those Lands from the *Saracens*, who had formerly taken them from the Empire of *Constantinople*; The same *Romanes* had also been mighty defenders of the Pa-

G pacy,

A Discourse of the Originall and

pacy in many dangers, yet when time served, the Pope tooke upon him, as Lord *Paramount* of those Countreyes, to drive out one King, and set up another, with a Bloody confusion of all *Italie*; retaining the Sovereignty to himself.

In *France*, he had the daring to pronounce himselfe superiour unto the King in all matters both Spirituall and Temporall.

The *Crowne* of *Poland* he forced to hold of his *Miter* by imposing a subjection in way of penance. For that the *Polish* King had caused one *Stanislaus* to be slaine.

For the death of *St. Thomas Becket* and (more strangely) for a Refusall of an *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* whom his *Holinesse* had appointed, he imposed the like penance upon *England*.

Also when our King *Edward* the *First*, made Warre upon the *Scotts* word came from *Rome* that he should surcease

Misery of Invasive War, &c.

surcease: for that the *Kingdome* of *Scotland* belonged unto the Popes Chappell.

A great oversight it was of St. Peter, that he did not accurse *Nero*, and all heathen *Princes*, whereby the Popes Chappell might have gotten all that the *Devill* offered, and our *Saviour* refused. Yet what need was there of such a banne: Since *Fryar Vincent* of *Valnarda* could tell *Atatalipa* King of *Peru*: That all the *Kingdomes* of the Earth were the Popes, who had bestowed more then halfe thereof upon the King of *Spaine*. If the Pope will have it so, it must be so; otherwise I should have interpreted that place in *Genesis*, *Increase and multiply and fill the Earth*, As spoken to *Noah*, and his Children, not as directed only to *Tubal*, *Homer*, and *Phatto*, the supposed Fathers of the old *Iberians*, *Goths*, and *Moors*, of whom the Spanish blood is compounded. But of such impu-

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dent presumption in disposing of countreyes farre remote, And whereto the sword must acquire a better title, the mischief is not presently discerned.

It were well if his *Holinesse* had not loved to set the world in an uproare by nourishing of War, among those that respected him as a Common Father.

His dispensing with oaths taken for agreement between one King and another, or between Kings and Subjects, doe speake no better of him. For by what right was it, That *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* won the *Kingdome* of *Navar*? why did not the Confederacie, that was between *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, and the *Venetians* hinder that King from warring upon *Venice*? why did not the like between *England*, and *France*, hinder our King *Henry* the eighth for warring upon the same King *Lewis*?

Was it not the Pope who did set on

Misery of Invasive War, &c.

on the French, to the end that himself might get *Ravenna* from the *Venetians*? Why was it not the same Pope, who afterwards (upon desire to drive the French out of *Italie*) excommunicated *Lewis*, and his adherents? By virtue of which Excommunication *Farinand* of *Arragon* seized upon *Naparr*.

And served not the same Warrant to set our *Henry* upon the back of *France*? But this was not our Kings fault more then all the peoples. We might with shame confesse it, (if other Countries had not been as blindly superstitious as our Fathers) That a Barque of Apples blessed by the Pope, and sent hither for presents unto those that would be forward in the War upon *France*, made all our English hasty to take Armes, in such sort as the *Italians* wondred, and laughed to see our men, no lesse greedy of those Apples (then *Eve*, was of the forbidden fruit) for which they were

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to hazard their lives in an unjust War. Few ages have wanted such and more grievous examples of the Popes tumultuous disposition, but these were amongst the last that fell out before his unholinesse was detected. Now for his dispensing betweene Kings and their Subjects, we need not seeke instances far from home.

He absolved our King *John* of an oath, given to his Barons and people. The Barons and people he afterward discharged of their allegiance to King *John*.

King *Henry* the third, had appeased this Land (how wisely I say not) by taking such an oath, as his Father had done; swearing as he was a Knight, a *Christian*, and a *King*. But in a Sermon at *Paules*, People were taught how little was to be reposed on such assurance, the Popes dispensation being there openly read, which pronounced that Oath voyde. Good cause why

Misery of Invasive War, &c.

For that King had the patience to live,
like neither Knight, nor King, But as
the Popes Tenant, and Rent-gatherer
of *England*. But when the same King
adventured to murmur, the Pope
could threaten to teach him his duty
with a vengeance. And make him
know, what it was to winch and play
the *Fredericke*.

Thus we see what hath been his
Custom to oppresse Kings by their
people, And the people by their Kings,
yet this was for serving his owne
turne.

Wherein had our King *Henry* the
sixt offended him (which King Pope
Julius would after for a little money
have made a Saint) Neverthelesse,
the Popes absolving of *Rich: Duke*
of *Yorke* from that honest oath, which
he had given by mediation of all the
Land to that good King occasioned
both the Dukes and the Kings ruine.
And therewithal those long and cruell

A Discourse of the Originall and

Wars betweene the Houses of *Lancaster*, and *Torke*, and brought all *England* into an horrible Combustion. What he meant by this, I know not, unlesse to verifie the Proverbe; *Omnia Romæ venalia*, I will not urge the dispensation, whereby the Pope released King *Philip*, the second of *Spaine*, from the solemne Oath by which he was bound to maintaine the priviledges of the *Netherlands*, though this Papall indulgence, hath scarce as yet left working, And been the cause of so many hundred thousands slaine, for this last forty years in the *Netherlands*.

Neither will I urge the Pope encouraging of *Henry* the second, and his sons, to the last of them against the *French* Protestants, the cause of the first three Civill Warres, And lastly of the Leavyings of *Byrons*, in which there hath perished no lesse number, then in the Low-Countryes.

For

Misery of Invasive War, &c.

For our Country it affords an example of fresh memory, since we should have had as furious Warre, as ever both upon us, and amongst us, in the daies of our late famous Sovereigne Queene Elizabeth, if Pope *Pius* his Bull, Could have gored, aswell as it could Bellow.

Therefore it were not amisse to answer by a *Herald*, the next Pontificall attempt of like nature, rather sending defiance (asto an enemy) then publishing answers as to one that had here to doe, though indeed he had never here to doe (by any lawfull power) either in Civill or Ecclesiasticall businesse, after such time as *Brittaine* was won from the *Romane* Empire.

For howsoever it were ordered in some of the first holy generall Councils, that the Bishop of *Rome*, should be *Patriarch* over these quarters, yea; or it were supposed that the forged *Canons*, by which he now challengeth
65 more

A Discourse of the Originall and

more then precedency, and primacie, had also been made indeed: yet could this little help his claime in *Kingdomes*, that hold not of the Empire. For those right holy Fathers, as in matters of Faith, they did not make truth, But religiously expounded it: so in matters of Ecclesiasticall Government, they did not create provinces for themselves; But ordered the Countries which they then had.

They were assemblies of all the Bishops in the *Romane* world, and with the *Romane* dominion only they medled. Requisite it is that the faith which they taught should be imbraced in all Countreyes, As it ought likewise to be entertained, if the same had been in like sort illustrated, not by them, but by a generall Councill of all Bishops in the great Kingdome of the *Abissines*, which is thought to have been Christian even in those daies.

But it was not requisite, nor is, that
the

Misery of Invasive War, &c.

the Bishops of *Abissines*, or of *India*, should live under direction of the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*.

Questionlesse, those godly Fathers of the *Nicene*, And of the *Calcedonian* Council so thought. For they tooke not upon them to order the *Church* Government in *India*, where *St. Thomas* had preached, nor to range the Subjects of *Prestor John* (as we call him) under any of themselves; much lesse to frame an *Hierarchie* upon earth, whereto men of all Nations whatsoever should be subject in Spirituall obedience.

If *Constantine* or his Successors the *Romane* Emperours could have wonne all *Asia*: like it is that in Councils following more *Patriarchs* would have been ordeined for the Ecclesiasticall Government of that large continent, and not all those vast Countreyes have beene left unto him of *Antioch* or *Constantinople*. But since contrariwise,

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wife, the *Empire* became looser, the *Patriarchs* whose Jurisdiction depended upon the *Empire*, become loosers also.

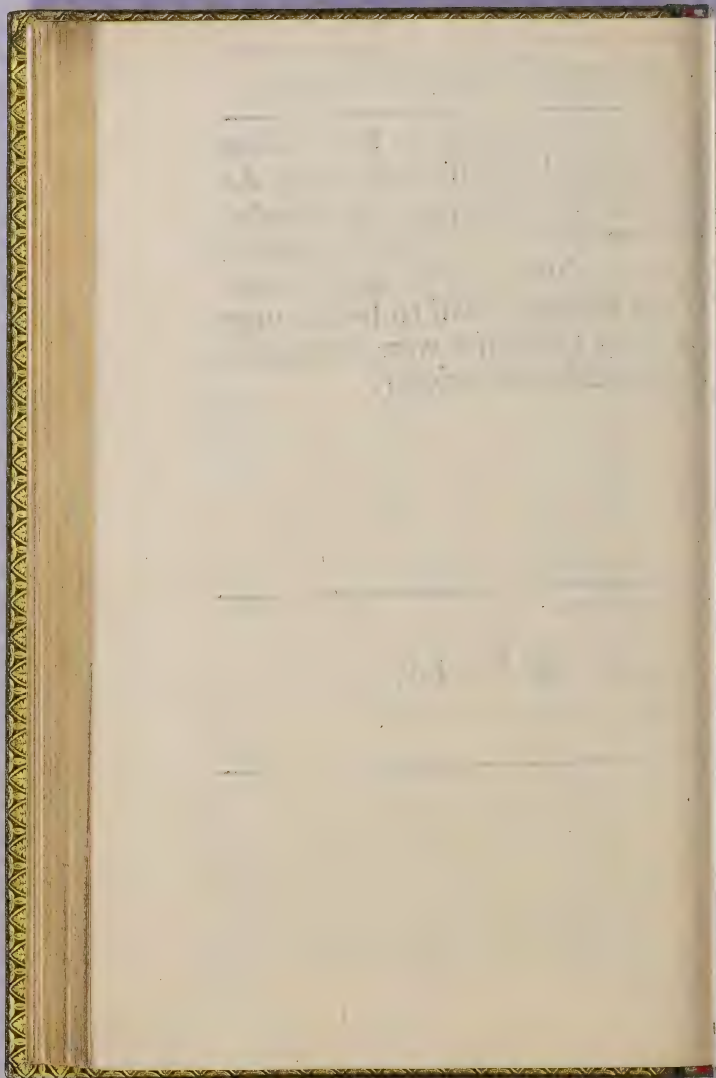
We grant, that even in the times of persecution, before Christian Bishops durst hold open assemblies, there was given especiall honour to the Bishops that were over the chiefe Cities; That unity might the better be preserved and heresie kept out of the *Church*; But this honour was no more, then a precedence, a dignity without Co-active power, extending no further then to matter of *Religion*, And not having to doe, save in the generall way of Christian love with any strangers.

We therefore, that are no dependants of the *Empire*, ought not to be troubled with the authority (be it what it may be) with any assemblies of godly Fathers (yet all Subjects of that *Empire*, ordeined for their owne
better

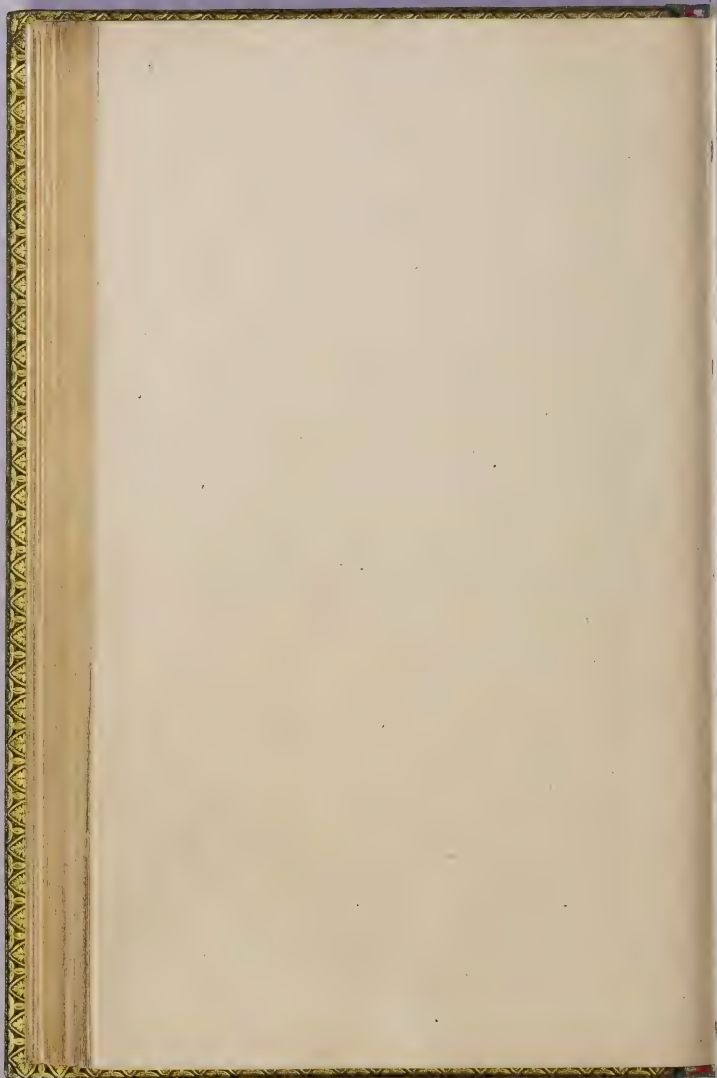
Misery of Invasive War, &c.

etter Government) But rather
ould regard the Bishop of *Rome*, As
e Islanders of *Jersey*, and *Garnsey*,
oe him of *Constance* in *Normandie*,
hat is nothing at all: since by that
French Bishops refusall to sweare unto
ur King, those Isles were annexed to
he Diocesse of *Winchester*.

FINIS.







EXCELLENT
OBSERVATIONS
AND
NOTES,

Concerning the Royall
Navy and Sea-Service.

WRITTEN

By Sir *Walter Rawleigh*
and by him Dedicated
to the most Noble and Ill-
lustrious Prince HENRY
Prince of WALES.

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Excellent Observa-
tions and Notes, concer-
ning the Royall Na-
vy and Sea-service.



Having formerly (most excellent Prince) discoursed of a Maritimall voyage, and the passages and incidents therein, I thinke it not impertinent nor differing from my purpose, to second the same with some necessary relations concerning the Royall Navy, with the Services and Offices thereto belonging. For, as the perfection and excellency

excellency of our Shipping is great and remarkeable, so the imperfections and defects of the same by use and experience of late years, have been found to be divers and inconvenient, as it falls out many times in the circumstances of Land service by the change of Armes, diversities of Fortifications, and alteration of Discipline. And therefore for the due reformation, many things are necessarily and particularly to be spoken and considered of in their Order. In regard whereof, I will first begin with the Officers, and therein crave pardon (if in speaking plainly and truly in a matter of so great importance). I doe set aside all private respects and partiality. For in that which concerns the service and benefit of my
Prince

Prince and Country, I will say with *Cicero*, *Nil mihi melius, nil mihi Charius*. And therefore not justly to be taxed with any presumption for meddling with matters wherein I have no dealings nor charge. For that in the affaires of this nature, every good Subject is deeply interested, and bound in Conscience and duty both to say and doe his best.

Of the Officers of the Navy.

First therefore, it were to be wished, that the Chiefe Officers under the Lord Admirall (as Vice-Admirall, Treasurer, Controller, Surveyor; and the rest) should be men of the best experience in Sea-service, as well as of judgement and practise in the utinells and necessities belonging to shipping, even

Officers
under the
Lo: Admirall
to be
men of
the best
experience
in
Sea-service.

even from the *Batts end* to the very *Kilson* of a Ship. And that no kind of people should be preferred to any of these offices, but such as have been thoroughly practised, and be very judicall in either kind of the above named services; but we see it oftentimes to fall out otherwise. For sometimes by the speciall favour of Princes, and many times by the mediation of great men for the preferment of their servants, and now and then by vertue of the purse, and such like means, some people very raw and ignorant, are very unworthily and unfitly nominated to those places, when men of desert and ability are held back and unpreferr'd, to the great hinderance of his Majesties service, to the prejudice of the Navy, and to the no little discour-

discouragement of ancient and noble able servitors, when favour or partiality shall eat out knowledge and sufficiency, in matters so neerly concerning the service and safety of the Kingdome, wherein all private respects should be laid apart, and vertue truly regarded for it selfe.

Of the building of Ships.

SEcondly, it were no lesse behooovefull for his Majesties service, and for the strength of the Navy, that no Ships should be builded by the great, as divers of them have been; For by daily experience they are found be the most weake, imperfect, and unserviceable Ships of all the rest. And it is not otherwise to be presumed, But
No Ships to be builded by the great.
as

as the Officers would bee thought to be very frugall for his Majesty in driving a bargain by the great at a neerer rate with the Shipwright, So likewise the Shipwright on his part will be as carefull to gaine by his labour, or at least to save himselfe harmlesse, and therefore suite his worke slightly according to a slight price. Out of the which present sparing and untimely thrift, there grows many future inconveniences and continuall Charge in repaying and reedifying such imperfect slight built Vessells. The prooffe and experience whereof hath been often found in new Shippes built at those rates, but so weakly, as that in their voyages, they have been ready to founde in the Seas with every Extraordinary storme

Storme, and at their returne
been enforced to be new built.
But seeing the Officers of the
Admiralty doe hold (by the
grace of his Majestie) places of
so good Credit and benefit, it is
their parts therefore (being well
waged and rewarded for the
same) exactly to look into the
sound building of Ships, and
to imploy their care and travell
as well in the oversight thereof,
as to provide that all things else
belonging to the Navy be good
and well conditioned: For the
strong and true building of a
Ship is not to be left barely to
the fidelity of a Marchanticall
Artificer (the chiefe end of
whose worke in his owne Ac-
count is his profit and gaine)
but some Superior Officer
ought to have a further regard
in that businesse, if he be such a

Officers
of the Ad-
miraltie
exactly to
look into
the sound
building
of Ships,
&c.

one as hath more judgement in the building and conditioning of a Ship, then devotion to his owne ease and profit.

Moreover if any decayed Ship be intended to be new made, it is more fit and profitable to make her a size less then she was, then bigger; For then her beams which were laid over-thwart from side to side will serve againe, and most of her Tymbers and other parts will say well to the building of a new ship. But if she should be made a size bigger, the Tymber of the old will be unprofitable for that purpose; we find by experience, that the greatest ships are least serviceable, grow very deep to water and of most vellentous Charge and fearefull Cumber, our Channells cloying every year. Besides, the

The
greatest
Ships
least serviceable.

are lesse nimble, lesse maine-
able, and very seldome employ-
ed. *Grande Navio grande fati-*

ca, saith the Spaniard, a ship of
600 Tuns will carry as good
Ordnance, as a ship of 1200.

Tuns, and though the greater
have double her number, the
lesser will turne her broad sides
twice, before the greater can
wend once, and so no advan-
tage in that overplus of Ord-
nance. And in the building of
all ships, these six things are
principally required.

1. First, that she be strong
built.

2. Secondly, that shee bee
swift.

3. Thirdly, that she be stout
sided.

4. Fourthly, that she carry
out her Guns all weather.

5. Fifthly, that she hull and

The Spa-
niards
phrase.

try well, which we call a good Sea-ship.

6. Sixthly, that shee stay well, when bourding and turning on a wind is required.

1. To make her strong consisteth in the truth of the Workeman, and the care of the Officers.

2. To make her sayle well is to give a long run forward, and so afterward done by Art and just proportion. For as in laying out of her bows before and quarters behind, she neither sinck into, nor hang in the water, but lye cleare off and above it, And that the Shipwrights be not deceived herein (as for the most part they have ever been) they must be sure, that the Ship sinck no deeper into the water, then they promise, for otherwise the bow and quarter will

A caution
for Ship-
wrights.

will utterly spoile her say-
ing.

3. That she bee stout, the
same is provided and perfor-
med by a long bearing Floore,
and by sharing off above water
even from the lower edge of the
Ports.

4. To carry out her Ord-
nance all weather, This long
bearing Floore, and sharing off
from above the Ports is a chiefe
Cause, Provided alwayes, that
our lowest Tyre of Ordnance
must lye foure foot cleare a-
bove water when all loading is
done, or else those your best pie-
ces will be of small use at the
sea in any growne weather
that makes the Billoe to rise,
or then you shall be enforced
to take in all your lower Ports,
and else hazard the Ship. As be-
fore to the *Mary Rose* (a goodly

Mary Rose
in H. 8.
time.

B 3 vessell)

veffell) which in the days of King *Hen. 8.* being before the Ile of *Wight* with the rest of the Royall Navy, to encounter the French Fleet, with a suddain puff of wind stooped her side and tooke in water at her Port in such abundance, as that she instantly sunck downeright and many gallant men in her. The Captaine of her was *S. George Carew* Knight, who also perished among the rest.

5. To make her a good Sea ship, that is to hull and try well, there are two things specially to be observed, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not overcharged, which commonly the Kings Ships are, and therefore in them we are forced to lye at trye with our maine Course and Misse
whi

which with a deep keel and standing streake she will performe.

6. The hinderance to stay well is the extreame length of a Ship, especially if she be floaty and want sharpnesse of way forwards, and it is most true, that those over long Ships are fitter for our Seas, then for the Ocean, but one hundred Foot long and five and thirty Foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ship.

It is a speciall Observation, that all ships sharpe before, that want a long Floore, will fall roughly into the Sea and take in water over head and Ears.

So will all narrow quartered ships sinck after the Tayle. The high charging of ships is it that brings them all ill qualities, makes them extreame Leeward

Speciall
observa-
tion.

The high
charging
of Ships a
principall
cause that
brings
them all
ill qual-
ities.

B 4

makes

makes them sinck deep into the water, makes them labour and makes them overfet.

Ease of
many
Cabbins
and safety
at once in
Sea-ser-
vice not
to be ex-
pected.

Men may not expect the ease of many Cabbins and safety at once in Sea-service. Two Decks and a half is sufficient to yield shelter and lodging for men and Marriners and no more charging at all higher, but only one low Cabbin for the Master. But our Marriners will say, that a Ship will beare more charging aloft for Cabbins, and that is true, if none but ordinary Marriners were to serve in them, who are able to endure, and are used to the tumbling and rowling of ship from side to side when the Sea is never so little growne. But men of better sort and better breeding would be glad to find more steadinesse and lesse tor-
terin

tering Cadge worke. And albe-
it the Marriners doe covet store
of Cabbins, yet indeed they are
but fluttish Dens that breed
sicknesse in peace, serving to
cover stealths, and in Fight are
dangerous to reare men with
their splinters.

*Of harbouring and placing
the Navy.*

THere are also many and
great reasons why all his
Majesties Navy should not in
such sort be pen'd up as they are
in *Rocheſter-water*, but only in
reſpect of the eaſe and commo-
dity of the Officers, which is en-
countred with ſundry Incon-
veniencies for the Sea-ſervice,
the difficulty being very great
to bring them in or out at times
of need through ſo many Flats
and

His Ma-
jeſties
Navy (in
ſuch ſort
as they
are) not
to bee
pend up
in *Roche-
ſter-water*,
&c.

*Wight,
Portsmouth,
Garnsey
and Jersey,
Devonshire
Cornwall,
Wales, or
Ireland.*

and sands, if wind and weather be not very favourable. Besides, they must have sundry winds to bring them to the Lands end, and to put them to the Seas, which oftentimes failes, and causeth delay when hast is most needfull. For if any service be to be done upon the South parts of *England*, as the *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, the Islands of *Garnsey* and *Jersey*, or Westward towards *Devonshire* or *Cornwall*, or towards *Wales* or *Ireland*, It is so long ere his Majesties shipping can be brought about to recover any of these places, as that much mischief may be done the while. For the same winds that bring in the Enemy, binds in our shipping in such sort, as that oftentimes in a months space they are not able to recover the neereft of
any

ny of these above named
 Coasts. But how perillous a
 course it is, is easily discerned,
 and as easily remedied, seeing
 there are besides so many safe
 and good harbours to disperse
 and bestow some of the Navy
 in, where they may ever lye fit
 for all services, As *Portsmouth*; Portsmouth,
Dartmouth, *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, Dartmouth,
Milford and divers others, All Plymouth,
 of them being harbours very Falmouth,
 capable and convenient for Milford
 shipping. But perhaps it will be and divers o-
 alleadged, that they cannot ride thers,
 in any of these so safe from e- Harbours,
 nemies as in *Rocheſter-water*, be- very ca-
 cause it reacheth far within the pable and
 Land, and is under the prote- conveni-
 ction of some Blockhouses. To ent for
 which I answer this, That with Shipping.
 very easie care and provision,
 they may in most of these pla-
 ces ride sufficiently secure from
 any

Halfe a
dozen or
eight of
midling
Ships and
some Pyn-
naces to
lye in the
West, &c.

Ash-water
by *Ply-*
mouth.

any forraine practises. And I
doe not meane that all the
whole Navy should be subdivi-
ded into all these Ports, but
that some halfe dozen or eight
of the midling ships, and some
Pynnaces should lye in the
West, and yet not in any Port
so neere the Sea, as that in a
darke night they may be endan-
gered by enemies with fire or
otherwise, but in some such
places as *Ashwater* is by *Ply-*
mouth, where an Enemy must
run up a fresh River, a dozen
miles after he hath passed the
Forts of the Island, and the A-
larum given, before he can come
where they lye at Anchor. In
which River the greatest
Charack of Portugall may ride
a Float ten miles within the
Forts. But if regard be only had
of their safe keeping, and not
also

so of their readinesse and fitness for service, then let them never be sent abroad to be hazarded against the Enemies forces; for therein they shall be more subject to casualitie and danger, then by lying in any of these harbours above specified. But certaine it is, that these ships are purposely to serve his Majesty, and to defend the Kingdom from danger, and not to be oppenn'd up from Casualtie, so that they should be the lesse able or serviceable in times of need. And therefore that objection favours not of good reason, but rather of selfe respect in the Officers, who are all for the most part well seated neere about *Rochester*. But the service of his Majesty, and the safety of the Realme (in my more opinion) ought to prevaille

vaile beyond all other respects
whatsoever: and to him that
casts those needlesse doubts, it
may well be said, *pereat qui tra-*
met umbras.

Of the needfull expence in
manning the Navy and other
inconveniencies by placing
all the Fleet in Roche-
ster-water.

Nota.

IF the service of the Ship
ping lying for any of these
places above named, or for
Spaine, or for the Islands, they
are enforced of very necessity
to presse the best and greatest
part of their men out of the
West Countries, which is no
small charge in bringing them
so far as between that and *Ro-*
chester, and then when they are
imbarqued

imbarqued at *Rocheſter*, their charge is againe redoubled in their pay and expence of viſtualls, before the Ships can recover ſo farre as *Plymouth*, which many times is long a doing, for they doe ever uſually touch at *Plymouth* in all Southerne voyages, for the furniſhing many Sea-neceſſaries, which that Country doth afford. And therefore for ſo many Ships as ſhould be there reſident, the Charges of Conduct Money for Marryners, of wages and of viſtualls, would be well ſaved for all that time, which is ſpent betwixt *Rocheſter* and *Plymouth*. Besides, it were to be preſumed, that Enemies would not be ſo troubleſome to the Weſterne Coaſts, nor that Country it ſelf would be ſo often diſmayed with Alarums as they have

Charges
of Con-
duct mo-
ney for
Marri-
ners well
ſaved, &c.

of

A Maga-
zin of all
manner
of neces-
sary pro-
visions,
&c.

of late years been, if some of
his Majesties good Ships were
resident in those parts. If there-
fore in his Majesties wisdom
it should appear fit, to bestow
some of his Shipping in any of
these Harbours aforementioned, it
shall be very needfull likewise
that there be a Magazin of all
manner of necessary provisions
and Munitions in the same pla-
ces, according to the proporti-
on of the Shipping that there
shall be resident, whereby such
defects as by accident may fall
out, shall upon any occasion be
readily supplied without de-
lays or hindrance of service.
And that withall in the same
places, some Officers belonging
to the Admiralty be there al-
wayes attendant, otherwise it
would be found very inconve-
nient to be enforced ever to at-
tend

attend such helps and supplies as must come so far off as *London*, when it may more easily and with lesse charge be effected in places where they ride.

Of great Ordnance.

IT was also very behoovefull, that his Majesties Ships were not so overpestered and clogged with great Ordnance as they are, whereof there is such superfluity, as that much of it serves to no better use, but only to labour and overcharge the Ships sides in any growne Seas and foule weather. Besides many of the ships that are allowed but twenty Gunners, have forty piece of brasse pices, whereas every piece at least requires foure Gunners to attend

His Majesties ships not to be overcharged and pestered with great Ordnance as they are.

Royall
Batterie
for a
Prince.

tend it, And so that proportion of Ordnance to so few Gunners, very preposterous: For when a Ship feels or roubles in foule weather, the breaking loose of Ordnance is a thing very dangerous, which the Gunners can hardly prevent or well looke into, they being so few, the Gunnes so many; withall we doe see, that twenty or thirty good brasfe pieces, as Cannon, Demicannon, Culverin, and Demiculverin, is a Royall Batterie for a Prince to bring before any Towne or strong Fortresse. And why should not we aswell thinke the same to be a very large proportion for one Ship to batter another withall, which if it be, then may his Majesty ratably save a great part of the Ordnance throughout every Ship, and make the Navy th

the more sufficient and service-
 able, and thereby also save a
 great deale of needlesse expence
 in superfluous powder and
 shot, that is now pretended to
 be delivered out according to
 this huge and excessive propor-
 tion of Artillery, whereof if
 many had not been stricken
 downe into *Holt* in many voy-
 ages and (especially in this last
 journey to the Islands) divers
 of the Ships, weight, Heaft, and
 Charge thereof, would have
 foundered in the Sea: wherein
 I report me to such as have ser-
 ved in them, and saw the prooffe
 thereof. For this journey to the
 Islands, did most of all others,
 discover unto us these experien-
 ces and tryalls in the Royall
 Navy, for that it was the longest
 Navigation that ever was made
 out of our Realme, with so
 C a many

Needlesse
 expence
 of super-
 fluous
 powder
 and shot;
 &c.

The jour-
 ney to the
 Islands.

Spaniards
Armado
in 88.

Easter-
ling
Hulkes.

many of the Princes Ships, and
tarrying out so late in the year,
whereby both the winds and
Seas had power and time
thoroughly to search and exa-
mine them. Besides many
times, there is no proportion of
shot and powder allowed ratea-
bly by that quantity of the great
Ordnance, as was seen in the
Sea-Battaile with the Spani-
ards in the yeare 88. when it so
neerly concerned the defence
and preservation of the King-
dome. So as then many of those
great Guns wanting powder
and shot, stood but as Cyphers
and Scarcrowes, not unlike to
the Easterling hulkes, who
were wont to plant great red
Port-holes in their broad sides,
where they carryed no Ord-
nance at all.

of

*Of Calking and sheathing his
Majesties Ships.*

THere is a great error committed in the manner of Calking his Majesties Ships, which being done with rotten Ocum, is the cause they are Leaky, and the reason is this, for that they make their Ocum wherewith they Calke the seams of the Ships, of old seere and weather-beaten ropes, when they are overspent and growne so rotten, as they serve for no other use but to make rotten Ocum, which moulders and washes away with every Sea, as the Ships labour and are tossed, whereas indeed of all other things, the most speciall & best choice would be made of that

Great error committed in manner of Calking his Majesties ships with rotten Ocum.

stuffed to have it both new and good, for that sparing to employ old rotten Ropes, is a great defect either in the building of new Ships, or in the repairing of old, and is the cause why after every journey they must be new Calked. And therefore it were much to be wished, as a thing fit for his Majesties service, profitable for the Navy, and happy for those that shall serve in them, that the whole Navy throughout were all sheathed, as some of them are. The benefit and good whereof for Sea-service is manifold, and no lesse frugall for his Majesty in making his Ships as strong and lasting thereby, as they are otherwise good of sayle. And then shall they never need (scarcely once in ten years) this new Calking and repayr-

ing which now almost every
 yeare they have. And hereof
 let the censure be taken of the
 best Seamen of *England*, and
 they will not vary from this o-
 pinion.

Censure
 taken of
 the best
 Seamen
 of Eng-
 land.

Of Victualling.

AS his Majesties due al-
 lowance for Victualling
 of ships is very large and ho-
 nourable, and would be great-
 ly to the incouragement and
 strengthning of the Marriners
 and Souldiers that serve in
 them, if it were faithfully di-
 stributed, the Sea-service (in-
 deed) being very miserable and
 painfull, So againe as it is abu-
 sed and purloyned, it is very
 scant and dishonourable to the
 great slander of the Navy, to
 the discouragement of all them

His Maje-
 sties al-
 lowance
 for victu-
 alling
 Ships ve-
 ry large
 and ho-
 nourable,

that are prest thereunto, and to the hinderance of his Majesties service. For that many times they goe with a great grudging to serve in his Majesties Ships, as if it were to be slaves in the Gallies. So much doe they stand in feare of penurie and hunger; The case being cleane contrary in all Merchants ships, and therefore the Purveyors and Victuallers are much to be condemned, as not a little faulty in that behalfe, who make no little profit of those polings which is cause very lamentable, that such as sit in ease at home, should so raise a benefit out of their hunger and thirst, that serve their Prince and Country painfully abroad, whereof there hath a long time been great complaining, but small reformation.

of

Of Beere Caskes.

THere is also daily Great inconvenience by bad Caske used in his Majesties ships
proofe made, what great inconveniences growes by the bad Caske which is used in his Majesties ships being commonly
so ill seasoned and Conditioned, as that a great part of the
Beere is ever lost and cast away,
or (if for necessity it be used)
it breeds Infection, and Corrupts all those that drinke
hereof. For the Victuallers for cheapnesse will buy stale
Caske that hath been used for
Herring, Traine Oyle, Fish,
and other such unsavory things,
and thereinto fill the beere that
is provided for the Kings Ships.
Besides the Caske is commonly
so ill hooped, as that there is
wast

wast and leaking made of the fourth part of all the drinke were it never so good, which is a great expence to his Majesty, a hinderance of service, and a hazard of mens lives, when the provision failes so much and answers not the Accompt. The which might easily be redressed, if the Caskes for his Majesties Shipping, were purposely hooped in such sort as Wine Caske is, or else hooped with Iron, which would ever serve and save that continuall provision of new Caske, which now falls out every voyage. But this course were more profitable for his Majesty then for his Officers, and therefore unpleasing to be spoken of, But yet such as serve in the Ships have good cause to wish the reformation thereof.

*Of the Cookroomes in his Ma-
jesties Ships.*

ANd whereas now the The great
Cookroomes in all of his Inconve-
Majesties Ships are made be- niences of
low in hold in the waft, the the Cook-
inconveniences thereof are rooms in
found many wayes by daily use all his
and experience. For first it is a Majesties
great spoile and annoyance to Ships
all the drinke and victualls made be-
which are bestowed in the low in
hold, by the heat that comes hold in
from the Cookroome. Besides, the waft.
it is very dangerous for fire, and
very offensive with the smoake
and unsavory smells which it
ends from thence. Moreover
it is a great weakening to a
ship to have so much weight
and charge at both the ends, and
nothing in the Mid-Ship,
which

Sea-
phrase.

which causeth them to warpe
and (in the Sea-phraſe; and
with Marriners) is tearmed
Camberkeeld: whereas if the
Cookrooms were made in the
Forecaſtle (as very fitly they
might be) all thoſe Inconveni-
ences above ſpecified, would be
avoyded, and then alſo would
there be more roome for ſtow-
age of victualls, or any other ne-
ceſſary proviſions, whereof
there is now daily found great
want. And the Commodities
of this new Cookroome the
Merchants have found to be ſo
great, as that in all their Ships
(for the moſt part) the Cook-
rooms are built in their Fore-
Caſtles, contrary to that which
hath been anciently uſed. In
which change notwithstanding, they have found no incon-
venience to their dreſſing of
meat

eat in foule weather, but rather a great ease, howbeit their ships goe as long voyages as any, and are for their burdens well mann'd. For if any stormes arise, or the Sea grow so high as that the Kettle cannot Boyle in the Forecastles, yet having with their Beere and Musket, Butter and Cheese, and with their pickled Herrings, Oyle, Vineger and Onions, or with their red Herrings and dry prats, Oyle and Mustard, and other like provisions that needs to fire, these supply and varieties of victualls, will very sufficiently content and nourish men for a time, until the storme be over blowne that kept the Kettle from boyling.

of

Of Mustering and pressing
able Marriners.

Musters
and Pres-
ses for
sufficient
marriners
to serve
in his Ma-
jesties
Ships the
care there-
in very
little, or
the bribe-
ry very
great.

AS concerning the Mustering
and Presses for sufficient
Marriners to serve in his Ma-
jesties Ships, either the care
therein is very little, or the bribe-
ry very great, so that of all
other shipping, his Majesties
are ever the worst manned, and
at such times as the *Commissioners*
Commissions come out
for the pressing of Marriners
the Officers doe set out the
most needy and unable men
and (for Considerations to
themselves best knowne) doe
discharge the better sort, a matter
so commonly used, as that it
is growne into a Proverbe a-
mongst the Saylers, That the
Mustermasters doe carry the
best

est and ablest men in their
pockets, a Custome very evill The Say-
nd dangerous, where the ser- lers Pro-
vice and use of men should verbe.
come in tryall. For many of
those poore Fishermen and Il-
lers, that are cōmonly presen-
ed to his Majesties Ships, are
so ignorant in Sea-service, as
that they know not the name of
a Rope, and therefore insuffici-
ent for such labour. The which
might easily bee redressed;
if the Vice-Admirall of the
Shire where men are mustered,
and two Justices had directions
given, to joyn with the Muster-
masters for the pressing of the
best men whom they well
know, and would not suffer the
service of their Prince and
Country to be bought and sold,
as a private Muster-master
would doe. Besides, the Cap-
tains

rains themselves of the Ships, if they bee bare and needy, (though pittie it were that men of such condition should have such charge committed unto them) wil oftentimes for Commodity Chop and change away their good men, and therefore it were fitly provided to bridle such odd Captains, that neither they themselves, nor any of their men, should receive his Majesties pay but by the pole, and according as they were set downe in the Officers books when they were delivered without changing of any names, except to supply such men as are wanting by death or sicknesse, upon good testimonie under the hands of the Master, the Boat swayne, the Master Gunner, the Purser and other Officers of the ship. For it neerly

ly concerns them to looke well thereunto, having daily use of them.

Of Arms and Munition.

IT were a course very Comfortable, defensive and honourable, that there were for al his Majesties ships a proportion of Swords, Targets of proof, Moryons, and Curatts of prooffe, allowed and set downe for every ship according to his burthen, as a thing both Warlike, and used in the King of Spains ships, the want whereof as it is a great discouragement to men if they come to any neere fight or landing, so would the use thereof be a great annoyance and terrifying to the enemy. And herein should his Majesty need to be at no extraordinary

A proportion of Swords Targets of prooffe and the like allowed; and set downe for every Ship according to his burthen, &c.

ordinary expence : For the abating of the superfluous great pieces in every Ship, with their allowance for Powder, Match and Shot, would supply the cost of this provision in very ample manner.

Of Captains to serve in his Majesties Ships.

His Majesties
owne
sworne
Servants
to be preferred to
the
charge
of his Majesties
Ships.

AT all such times as his Majesties ships are employed in service, it were very convenient that such Gentlemen as are his Majesties owne sworne servants, should be preferred to the charge of his Majesties Ships, Choice being made of men of valour, and Capacitie; rather then to imploy other mens men, And that other of his Majesties servants should be dispersed privately in those services to
gaine

gain experience, and to make themselves able to take charge. By the which means his Majesty should ever have Gentlemen of good accompt his owne servants, Captains of his owne Ships, instead of pettie Companions and other mens servants, who are often employed, being (indeed) a great indignity to his Majesty, to his shipping and to his owne Gentlemen. For that in times past, it hath been reputed a great grace to any man of the best sort, to have the Charge of the Princes ship comitted unto him, and by this means there would ever be true report made unto the Pr. what proceedings are used in the service, which these manner sort of Captains dare not doe, for feare of displeasing the Lords their Masters, by whom

D 2 they

they are preferred, or being of an inferiour quality, have no good access to the Presence of the Prince, whereby to have fit opportunity to make relation accordingly.

Objection.

But now forasmuch as I doubt not, but that some contrary spirits may or will object this as a sufficient reason to infirme all those points that I have have formerly spoken of, and say unto me, why should his Majesty and the State be troubled with this needlesse Charge of keeping and maintaining so great a Navy in such exquisite perfection, and readinesse? the times being now peaceable, and little use of Armes or Ships of Warre, either at home or abroad, but all safe and secure, as well by the uniting of the two Nations, as by

y the peace which we hold with
paine, and all other Christian
Princes. To this I answer, that
his (indeed) may stand (at the
first sight) for a prettie superfi-
ciall argument to bleare our
eyes, and lull us asleep in secu-
rity, and make us negligent and
carelesse of those causes from
whence the effects of peace
grows, and by the vertue where-
of it must be maintained. But
we must not flatter and deceive
our selves, to thinke that this
Calme and Concord proceeds
either from a setled immutable
tranquillity in the world
(which is full of alterations
and various humours) or from
the good affections of our late
enemies, who have tasted too
many disgraces, repulses, and
losses, by our forces and ship-
ping, to wish our State so much

D 3 felicity

felicity as a happy and peaceable government, if otherwise they had power to hinder it. And therefore though the sword be put into the Sheath, we must not suffer it there to rust, or stick so fast, as that we shall not be able to draw it readily when need requires. For albeit our enemies have of late years sought peace with us, yet yet hath it proceeded out of the former tryall of our forces in times of war and Enmity. And therefore we may well say of them as *Anneus* (*Pretor* of the Latines) said of the Roman Ambassadors, who seemed curious and carefull to have the League maintained betweene them (which the Roman estate was not accustomed to seeke at their neighbours hands) and thereupon saith this *Anneus*,

unde

*inde hæc illis tanta modestia nisi
ex cognitione virium & nostrarum
& suarum.* For with the
like consideration and respect
have our late enemies sought to
renew the ancient friendship
and peace with us. And well
we may be assured, that if those
powerfull means whereby we
reduced them to that modesty
and curtesie as to seeke us, were
utterly laid aside and neglected,
so as we could not againe upon
occasion readily assume the use
and benefit of them, as we have
done, those proud mastering
spirits, finding us at such advan-
tage, would be more ready and
willing to shake us by the ears
as enemies, then to take us by
the hands as friends. And there-
fore far be it from our hearts to
trust more to that friendship of
strangers, that is but dissembled
upon

upon policy and necessity, then to the strength of our owne forces, which hath been experienced with so happy successe. I confesse that peace is a great blessing of God, and blessed are the Peacemakers, and therefore doubtlesse blessed are those means whereby peace is gained and maintained. For well we know that God worketh all things here amongst us mediately by a secondary means, The which meanes of our defence and safety being shipping, and Sea-Forces, are to be esteemed as his guifts, and then only availeable and beneficiall, when he withall vouchsafeth his grace to use them aright.

F I N I S.

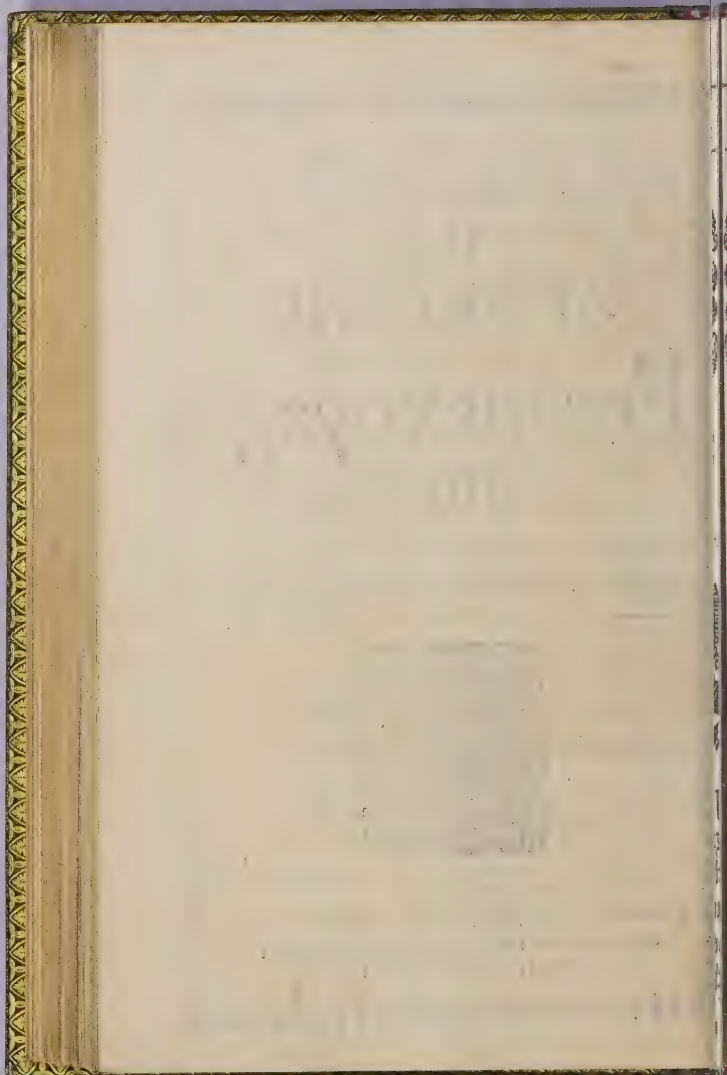
SIR
WALTER RAWLEIGH
HIS
APOLOGIE

For his voyage
To GUIANA:

By Sir Walter Rawleigh Knight.



LONDON,
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and are to be sold at the Princes Armes in
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Sir Walter Rawleigh
his Apologie.

IF ill successe of this Enterprise of mine had bin without Example, I should have needed a large discourse and many arguments for my Justification, But if the atempts of the greatest Princes of *Europe*, both among themselves and against the great Turk, are in all moderne Histories left to every eye to peruse. It is not so strange that my selfe being but a private man,

A 2

and

and drawing after me the chaines and Fetters whereunto I have been thirteen yeares tyed in the Tower, being unpardoned and in disgrace with my Sovereaigne Lord, have by other mens errors failed in the attempt I undertooke.

For if that *Charles* the Fifth returned with unexampled losse, I will not say dishonour, from *Algire* in *Africa*: If King *Sebastian* lost himselfe and his Army in *Barbary*: If the invincible Fleet and forces of *Spaine* in Eighty Eight were beaten home by the Lord *Charles Howard* Admirall of *England*: If Mr. *Strozzi* the Count *Brizack* the Count of *Vinnoso* and others, with the Fleet of fifty eight sayle and six thousand Souldiers, encountered with far lesse numbers could not defend the *Terceres*. Leaving to speake of a world of other attempts furnished by Kings and Princes. If Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *John Hawkins* and Sir *Thomas Bastervile*,

kervile men for their experience and valour as Eminent as *England* had any, strengthened with divers of her Majesties ships, and fild with Souldiers at will, could not possesse themselves of the Treasure they sought for, which in their view was imbarcked in certaine Frigotts at *Puerto Rico*, yet afterward they were repulst with fifty Negroes upon the Mountains of *Vasques Numius*, or *Sierra de Capira* in their passage towards *Panania*: If Sir *John Norris* (though not by any fault of his) failed in the attempts of *Lysbone* and returned with the losse, by sicknesse and otherwise, of eight thousand men. What wonder is it, but that mine (which is the last) being followed with a company of Voluntiers who for the most part had neither seen the Sea nor the Warres, who, some forty Gentlemen excepted, had we the very scumme of the World: Drunkards, Blasphemers and such others as their Fathers Bro-

thers and freinds thought it an exceeding good gaine to be discharged of them with the hazard of some thirty forty or fifty pounds, knowing they could not have liv'd a whole yeare so cheape at home: I say what wonder is it, if I have failed, where I could neither be present my selfe, nor had any of the Commanders (whom I most trusted) living, or in state to supply my place?

Now, where it was bruted, both before my departure out of *England* and by the most men beleived, that I meant nothing lesse then to go to *Guiana*: but that being once at liberty and in mine owne power, having made my way with some Forraigne Prince I would turne Pyratt and utterly forsake my Countrey. My being at *Guiana*, my returning into *England* unpardoned, and my not takeing the spoile of the Subj. of any Christian Prince, hath (I doubt not) destroyed that Opinion.

But this is not all: for it hath been given

given out by an hypocrittically Theite who was the first Master of my shipp: And by an ungratefull Youth which waited upon me in my Cabbin, though of honourable worthy Parents: and by others: That I carryed with me out of *England* twenty two thousand peices of twenty two shillings the peice, and theretofore needed not, or cared not to discover any Mine in *Guiana*, nor make any other attempt elsewhere: Which Report being carried secretly from one to an other in my ship, and so spread through all the ships in the Fleet which staid with me at *Trenidado* while our Land Forces were in *Guiana*, had like to have been my utter overthrow in a most miserable fashion; For it was consulted when I had taken my Barge and gone ashore (either to discover or otherwise as I often did) That my ship should have set saile and left me there, where either I must have suffered Famine,

been eaten with wilde beasts, or have fallen into the hands of the *Spaniards*, and been flayed alive as others of the *English*, which came thither but to trade only, had formerly been.

To this Report of Riches, I make this Protestation, That if it can be proved, either now or hereafter, that I had in the world, either in my keeping or in my power, either directly or indirectly in trust or otherwise, above one hundred peices when I departed *London*, of which I had left forty five peices with my wife, and fifty five I carried with me: I acknowledge my selfe for a Reprobate, a Villaine, a Traitor to the King, and the most unworthy man that doth live, or ever hath liv'd upon the earth.

Now where the Captaines that left me in the *Indies*, and Captaine *Baily*, that ran away from me at *Cancerota*, have, to excuse themselves, objected for the first, That I lingered at *Plimouth*

mouth when I might have gone thence,
and lost a faire wind and time of the
yeare, or to that effect. It is strange that
men of fashion and Gentlemen should
so grossly bely their owne knowledge:
And that had not I lived nor returned to
have made answer to this Faction, yet
all that know us in *Plimouth* and all
that we had to deale withall knew the
contrary. For after I had stayed at the
Isle of *Wight* divers daies; the *Thunder*,
Commanded by Sir *Warram St. Leger*
by the negligence of her Master, was at
Lee in the *Thames*; and after I arrived
at *Plimouth*, Captaine *Pennington* was
not come then to the Isle of *Wight*, and
being arrived there, and not able to
redeeme his Bread from the Ba-
kers, he rode back to *LONDON*
to intreat help from my wife to pay
for it, who having not so much money
to serve his turne, she wrote to Mr.
Wood of *Portsmouth* and gave him her
word for thirty pounds, which shee
soone

soone after payd him, without which
(as *Pennington* himselfe protested to
my wife) he had not bin able to have
gone the journey: Sir *John Ferne*
found there without all hope of being
able to proceed, having nor men nor
mony, and in great want of other pro-
vision, insomuch as I furnished him
by my Cozen *Herbert* with a hundred
pounds, having supplied himselfe in
wales with a hundred pounds before
his coming to *Plimouth*: and procured
him a third hundred pound from the
worthy and honest Deane of *Exeter*
Doctor *Sutcliffe*. Captaine *Whitney*
whome I also stayed for, had a third
part of his victualls to provide, inso-
much as having no mony to help him
withall I sold my Plate in *Plimouth* to
supply him. Baily I left at the *Isle of*
Wight, whose arrivall I also attended
here some ten or twelve daies as I re-
member, and what should move Baily
only to leave me as he did at the *Canal*

ies, from whence he might have departed with my love and leave, and at his returne to do me all the wrong he could devise, I cannot conceive; he seemed to me from the begining not to want any thing, he only desired of me some Ordnance and some iron-bound Caske, and I gave it him; I never gave him ill language nor offered him the least unkindnesse to my knowledge: It is true, that I refused him a French Shallop which he tooke in the Bay of *Portingall* outward bound, and yet after I had bought her of the French, and paid fifty Crownes ready mony for her, if *Baily* had then desired her he might have had her; But to take any thing from the *French*, or from any other nation, I meant it not.

True it is, that as many things succeeded both against Reason and our best endeavours; So it is most commonly true, that men are the cause of their owne misery, as I was of mine, when I undertooke

undertooke my late enterprise without a pardon for all my Company, having heard it avowed in *England* before they went, that the Commission I had, was granted to a man who was *Non Ens* in law, so hath the want thereof taken from me both Armes and Actions: Which gives boldnesse to every petty Companion to spread Rumours to my Defamation and the wounding of my Reputation, in all places where I cannot be present to make them Knaves and Lyars.

It hath been secondly objected, *That I put into Ireland, and spent much time there, taking care to Revictuall my selfe and none of the rest.*

Certainly I had no purpose to see *Ireland* when I left *Plimouth*, but being encountered with a strong Storme some eight Leagues to the Westward of *Scilly*, in which Captaine *Chudleyes* Pinace was suncke, and Captaine *King* thrust into *Bristol*: I held it the Office

ce of a Commander of many ships, and those of divers Saylings and conditions, of which some could Hull and Trye, and some of them beat it up upon a Tack, and others neither able to doe the one nor the other, rather to take a Port and keep his Fleet together, then either to endanger the losse of Masts and Yards; or to have it severed farre asunder, and to be thrust into divers places. For the attendance of meeting them againe at the next Rendezvous, would consume more Time and Victuall, and perchance the weake ships might be set upon, taken, or disordered, then could be spent by recovering a Harbour, and attending the next change of wind.

That the dissevering of Fleets hath beene the overthrow of many Actions, I could give many Examples, were it not in every mans Knowledge. In the last Enterprize of
worth

worth, undertaken by our *English* Nation with three Squadrons of ships Commanded by the Earle of *Essex* the Earle of *Suffolke* and my selfe where was also present the Earle of *Southampton*, If we being storme-beaten in the Bay of *Alcassar* or *Biscay* had had a Port under our Lee, that we might have kept our Transporting ships with our men of War, we had in all likelihood both taken the *Indian* Fleet and the *Asores*.

That we staid long in *Ireland* it is true, but they must accuse the Cloud and not me, for our stay there; for I lost not a day of a good Wind: and there was not any Captaine of the Fleet but had Credit or might have had for a great deale of more victuall then we spent there, and yet they had of me fifty Beeves among them and somewhat else.

For the third Accusation, That I landed in Hostile maner at *Lancerota* Certainly

Certainly Captaine *Baily* had greater matter when he gave that for an excuse of his turning back, for I refer my selfe to Mr. *Barney*, who I know will ever justifie a truth, to whom (when he came to me from Captaine *Baily* to know whether he should land his men with the rest) I made this answer, that he might land them if it pleased him, or otherwise keepe them aboard, for I had agreed with the Governor for a proportion of victuall which I hourly expected: And it is true, that the Governor being desirous for to speake with me with one Gentleman with him with their Rapiers only, which I accepting, and taking with me Leivetenant *Bradshaw*, we agreed: that I should send up an English Factor (whose ship did then ride in the Roade) and that whatsoever the Island could yeeld should be delivered at a reasonable rate; I sent the English Factor according to our agreement,

ment, but the Governour put it off from one morning to an other, and in the end sent me word, that except I would imbarque my men which lay on the Sea side, *Slanders* were so jealous as they durst not sever themselves to make our Provisions: I did so, but when the one halfe were gotten aboard two of our Centinells forc't, one slaine and the English Factor sent to tell mee that he had nothing for us, whom he still believed to be a Fleet of the Turks, who had lately taken and destroyed *Puerto Santo*. Hereupon all the Companies would have marched toward the Towne and have sackt it, but I knew it would not only dislike His Majesty, But that our Merchants having a continuall trade with those Islands, that their Goods would have bin stay'd, and amongst the rest, the poor English man riding in the Road having all that he brought thither ashore, would have been utterly undone.

Hereof

Hereof I complained to the Governour of the Grand *Canaries*, whom also desired that we might take water without any disturbance, but instead of answer, when we landed some hundred men, far from any habitation, and in a Defart place of the Island, where we found some fresh water, here Ambush was layd, and one *Fish* of Sir *John Fernes* ship wounded to death, and more had been slain had not Captaine *Thornburst* and Master *Robert Hayman* my sonnes Lievtenant, two exceeding valiant Gentlemen, who first made head against them, seconded by Sir *Warham Sentleger* and my sonne with halfe a dozen more, made forty of them runne away. From hence because there was scarcity of water, we sayled to *Gomarrab*, one of the strongest and well defended places of all the Islands and the best Port: The Towne being seated upon the very Wash of the Sea, at the first entrance

B

of

of our ships, they shot at us, and ours
at them, but as soone as I my selfe re-
covered the Harbour, and had com-
manded that there should be no more
shooting, I sent a Spaniard a shore (tak-
ken in a Barque which came from *Capa*
Blanke) to tell the Governour that
I had no purpose to make warr with any
of the Spanish Kings Subjects, and if
any harme were done by our great Ordnance
to the Towne, it was his fault
which by shooting first gave the occasi-
on. He sent me for answer that he
thought we had beene the Turkish
Fleet, which destroyed *Puerto Sancto*
but being resolved by the Messengers
that we were Christians and English
and sought nothing but water, he
would willingly afford us as much
we pleased to take, if he might be as-
sured that we would not attempt to
Towne-Houses, nor destroy the Gar-
dens and fruits; I returned him answer
that I would give him my Faith, and

the word of the King of Great Brit-
taine my Sovereigne Lord, that the
People of the Town and Island should
not loose so much as one Orange or a
Grape without paying for it, I would
hang him up in the Market-streer.
Now that I kept my Faith with him,
and how much he held himselfe bound
unto me: I have divers of his Letters to
shew, for he wrote unto me every day
And the Countesse being of an english
Race a *Stafford* by Mother, and of the
house of *Horn* by the Father, sent me
divers presents of fruits, Sugar, and
Ruske: to whom I returned (because
I would not depart in her debt) things
of greater value; The old Earle at my
departure wrot a Letter to the Spanish
Ambaßador here in *England* how I
had behaved my selfe in those Islands.
There I discharg'd a Barke of the grand
Canaries taken by one of my Pinna-
ces coming from *Cape-Blank* in *Africa*,
and demanding of him what prejudice

he had recieved by being taken, he told me that my men had eaten of his fish to the value of fixe Duckets, for which I gave him eight .

From the *Canaries*, it is said *That I sayled to Cape de Verte knowing it to be an infectious place, by reason whereof I lost so many of my men ere I recovered the Indies*; The truth is that I came no neerer to *Cape de Vert* then *Bravo*, which is one hundred and sixty Leagues off; But had I taken it in my way, falling upon the Coast or any other part of *Guiana*, after the *Raines*, there is as little danger of infection as in any other part of the World, as our English that trade in those parts every yeare doe well know; There are few places in *England* or in the world neere great Rivers which run through low ground or neare Moorish or Marsh grounds but the People inhabiting neare, are at some time of the yeare subject to Fevers, witnes *woollwich* in *Kent* and a
down

down the Rivers on both sides, other Infection there is not found either in the *Indies* or in *Affrica*, Except it be when the Easterly wind or Breezes are kept off by some High Mountaines from the Vallies, wherby the ayre wanting motion doth become exceeding unhealthfull as at *Nombre de Dios* and elsewhere. But as good successe admitts no Examination, so the contrary allows of no excuse, how reasonable or just soever. Sir *Francis Drake*, Mr. *John Winter* and *John Tomas*, when they past the Streights of *Malegan*, meeting with a storme which drove *Winter* back, which thrust *John Thomas* upon the Islands to the South where he was cast away, and Sir *Francis* nere a small Island upon which the *Spaniards* landed their cheins & murderers, from *Baldivia*, and he found there *Phillip* an Indian who told him where he was and conducted him to *Baldivia*, where he took his first prize of Treasure,

and in that ship he found a Pylot called *John Grege* who guided him all that Coast, in which he possesse himselfe of the rest, which Pylot because he should not rob him of his Reputation and knowledge in those parts (desisting the intreaties and teares of all his Company) he set him a shore upon the Island of *Altegulors* to be by them devoured. After which passing by the *East-Indies*, he returned into *England*, and notwithstanding the peace between Us and *Spaine*, he enjoyed the Riches he brought, and was never so much as called to accompt for cutting off *Douly* his head at *Porte St. Julian* having neither Marshall Law nor other Commission availeable. Mr. *Candish* having past all the Coasts of *Chyle* and *Peru*, and not gotten a farthing, when he was without hope, and ready to shape his course by the East homewards, met a ship which came from the *Phillippines* at *Calestorvia*, a
thousand

thousand pounds to a Nutshell. These two in these two Voyages were the Children of Fortune, and much honored; But when Sir *Francis Drake* in his last attempt might have landed at *Cruces*, by the river of *Chyagre* within eight miles of *Panama*, he notwithstanding set the Troups on land at *Nombre de Dios* and received the repulse aforesaid, he dyed for sorrow. The same successe had *Candish* in his last Passage towards the Streights. I say that one and the same end they both had, to wit *Drake* and *Candish*, when Chance had left them to the tryall of their owne Vertues.

For the rest I leave to all worthy and indifferent men to judge, by what neglect or errour of mine, the Gold Mine in *Guiana* which I had formerly discovered was not found and enjoyed, for after we had refreshed our selves in *Galleana*, otherwise in the first discovery called *Poet Howard*, where we tarri-

ed Captaine *Hastins*, Captaine *Piggott*, and Captaine *Snedall*, and there recovered the most part of our sicke men. I did Imbarque sixe Companies of fifty to each Company in five shippes, to wit, the *Encounter*, Commanded by Captaine *Whitney*, in the *Confidence* by Captaine *Woollastone*, into two Flyboats of my owne, Commanded by Captaine *Samuell King*, and Captaine *Robert Smith*, In a Carvill which Companies had for their Leaders Captaine *Charles Parker*, Captaine *North*, My Sonne, Captaine *Thornhurst*, Captaine *Penjuglous* Lievtenant, and Captaine *Chudlyes* Lievtenant *Prideux*.

At the Tryangle Islands I embarked the companies for *Orrenoque* between which and *Calliana* I lay a ground twenty four houres, and if it had not been faire weather we had never come off

off the Coast, having not above two Fathome and a halfe of water: Eight Leagues off from whence, I directed them for the River of *Surniama*, the best part of all that Tract of land between the river *Amazones* and *Orrenoque*, there I gave them order to trim their Boates and Barges; and by the Indians of that place to understand the state of the *Spaniards* in *Orrenoque*, and whether they had replanted or strengthened themselves upon the entrances or elsewhere; and if they found any Indians there, to send in the little flyboate or the Carvill into the river of *Dissebecke*, where they should not faile to find Pilots for *Orrenoque*, for with our great ships we durst not aproach the Coast we having been all of us a ground, and in danger of leaving our Bands upon the shoules before wee recovered the Tryangle Islands as aforesaid; The Biggest Shipp that could Enter the River was the *Encounter*,
who

who might be brought to eleven foote water upon the Bar, we could never understand neither by *Keymis*, who was the first of any Nation that had entered the maine mouth of *Orrenoque* nor by any of the Masters or Marriners of our Fleet, which had traded there ten or twelve yeares for Tobaccho: For the *Chudley* when she came nere the Entrance, drawing but twelve foote, found her selfe in danger and bore up for *Trinidado*.

Now whereas some of my friends have been unsatified why I my selfe had not gone up with the Companies I sent, I desire hereby to give them satisfaction, that besides my want of health and strength, and having not recovered my long and dangerous sickness, but was againe fallen into a Relapse, my ship *Stoalde* and layd a ground at seaventeene foote water, 7 Leagues of the shore, so as the Mr. nor any of my company durst adventure

ture to come neare it, much lesse to fall between the shoules on the south side of the Rivers side, and sands on the North side called *Punto Anegado*, one of the most dangerous places in all the *Indies*: It was therefore resolved by us all, that the five greater ships should ride at *Punto Gallo* in *Trinidado*, and the five lesser should enter the River, For if *Whitney* and *Woollaston* at eleven foote lay a ground three daies in passing up, in what case had I been which drew seaventeene foote, a heavier ship and charged with forty pieces of Ordnance, besides this impossibility, neither would my Sonn nor the rest of the Captaines and Gentlemen have adventured themselves the River (having but one moneths Victualls and being thrust together a hundred of them in a smale Flyboate) had not I assured them that I would stay for them at *Trinidado*, and that no Force should drive me thence, except I were suncke

beyond

in

in the Sea or set on Fire by the Spanish Gallions, for that they would have adventured themselves upon any other mans word or resolution, it were ridiculous to beleive.

Having in this sort resolved upon our enterprise, and having given instructions, how they should proceede before and after their entrance into *Orrenoque*, *Keymis* having undertaken to discover the Myne with six or eight persons in *Sir John Fernes* Shallop, I better bethinking my selfe and misliking his determination gave him this order, *viz.*

Keymis, whereas you were resolved after your arrivall into *Orrenoque* to passe to the Myne with my Cousen *Harbert* and six musketteers, and to that end you desired to have *Sir John Fernes* shallop, I doe not allow of that course, because you cannot Land so secretly but that some Indians on the River side may discover you, who giving knowledge

knowledge of your passage to the Spaniards you may be cut off before you can recover your Boate, I doe therefore advise you to suffer the Captaines and the Companies of the English to passe up to the Westwards of the mountaine *Aio*, from whence you have no lesse then three miles to the Myne, and to lodge and encampe between the Spanish Towne and you, if there be any Town neer it, that being so secured you may make tryall what depth and bredth the Myne holds, and whether or no it answer our hopes. And if you find it Royall, and the Spaniards begin to Warre upon you, then let the Serjeant Major repell them if it be in his power, and drive them as far as he can.

But if you find that the Myne be not so rich as it may perswade the holding of it, and draw on a second supply, then shall you bring but a basket or two to satisfy his Majesty, that my designe was not Imaginatory but true,
though

though not answerable to his Majesties expectation, for the quantity of which I never gave assurance, nor could.

On the other side, if you shall find that any great number of Souldiers be newly sent into *Orrenoque*, as the *Casique* of *Caliana* told us that there were, and that the Passages be already Forc'd so that without manifest Perill of my sonne, your selfe, and other Captaines, you cannot passe toward the Myne, then be well advised how you land, for I know (that a few Gentlemen excepted) what a Scumme of men you have, and I would not for all the world receive a blow from the Spaniards to the dishonour of our Nation; I my selfe for my weaknes cannot be present, neither will the Company land, except I stay with the ships, the Gallioones of *Spaine* being daily expected. *Pigott* the Sergeant-Major is dead. *Sir Warrham* my Leiftenant, without hope of life, and

and my Nephew your Sergeant-Major
no w but a young man: It is therefore
no your judgement that I Rely whom
I trust God will direct for the best.

Let me heare from you as soone as
you can, you shall find me at *Punto*
Gallo dead or alive, and if you finde
not my ships there, yet you shall find
their Ashes; For I will fire with the
Gallioones if it cometo extreimity,
But runne away I will never.

That these my Instructions were not
followed, was not my fault, But it
seemes that the Sergeant-Major, *Key-*
mis and the rest were by accident for-
ced to change their first resolution,
and that finding a Spanish towne or
rather a village, set up twenty mile
distant from the place where *Antonio*
Berro the first Governour by me taken
in my first discovery who had attēpted
to plant to meet some two Leagues to
the Westward of the Mine: They a-
greed to land and encamp between the
Mine

Myne and the Towne, which they did not suspect to be so neer them as it was, and meaning to rest themselves on the Rivers side till the next day, they were in the night set upon and charged by the Spaniards, which being unlooked for, the Common sort of them were so amazed, as had not the Captaines and some other valiant Gentlemen made a Head and encouraged the rest, they had all been broken and cut in pieces. To repell this force putting themselves in order, they charged the Spaniards, and following them upon their retreat they were ready to enter the Town, ere they knew where they were, and being then charged againe by the Governour, and foure or five Captaines which lead their Companies; My Sonne not tarrying for my Muskietiers run up in the head of a company of Pikes, where he was first shot, and pressing upon a Spanish Captaine called *Erinetta* with his sword;

sword; *Erinetta* taking the small end of his Musket in his hand stricke him on the head with the stock and feld him, whom againe *John Plesington*, my Sonnes Setjeant, thrust through with his Halbert, at which time also the Governour *Diego Palmeque* and the rest of the Spanish Captaines being slaine, and their Companies divided, they betooke themselves into a house, or hold adjoyning to the market place, where they slew and wounded the English at their pleasure, so as we had no way to save our selves; but by firing those houses adjoyning, which done all the Spaniards ran into the bordering Woods, and Hills, keeping the English still waking with perpetuall Alarums.

The town such as it was being in this sort possesst. *Keymis* prepared to discover the Myne, which at this time he was resolved to doe, as appeareth by his Letter to me of his owne hand writing

C

hereafter

hereafter inserted ; he tooke with him
 Captaine *Thornhurst*, Master *William*
Herbert, Sir *John Hambden*, and others
 but at his first approach neer the bank
 where he meant to Land, he received
 from the wood a vollew of shot which
 slew two of his Company, hurt six o
 thers, and wounded Captaine *Thorn*
hurst in the head, of the which he lan
 guished three months after.

Keymis his LETTER Dated
 the eight of *January* from
Orrenoque.

ALL things that appertaine to hu
 mane condition in that proper na
 ture and sence, that of fate and necessit
 belongeth unto them, maketh me choos
 rather with grieve to let you know from
 me this certaine truth then uncertaint
 ties from others ; which is, viz. That ha

not this extraordinary valour and forwardnesse, which with the constant vigour of mind being in the hands of death his last breath expressed these words. (Lord have mercy upon me and prosper your enterprise) leade them all on, when some began to pause and recoyle shamefully: this action had neither been attempted as it was, nor performed as it is with his surviving honour.

This Indian Pilot whom I have sent, if there be occasion to use his service in any thing will prove sufficient and trusty: Peter Andrewes whom I have sent with him can better certify your Lordship of the state of the towne, the plenty, the condition of our men, &c. then I can write the same.

We have the Governours servant Prisoner that waited on him in his Bed-chamber, and knows all things that concerned his Master. We find there are foure Refiners Houses in the towne; the best Houses of the towne. I have not seen

one piece of Coyne, or Bullyon, neither Gold or Silver; a small deale of Plate only excepted.

Captain Whitney and Woollastone are but now come to us, and now I purpose (Godwilling), without delay to visit the Myne, which is not eight miles from the towne, sooner I could not goe by reason of the murmurings, the discords and vexations, wherewith the Serjeant Major is perpetually tormented and tyred, having no man to assist him but my selfe only, things are now in some reasonable order, and so soone as I have made tryall of the Myne, I will seeke to come to your Lordship, by the way of the River. To goe and to search the Channels (that if it be possible) our Ships may shorten their course for Trinidado, when time serves, by those passages; I have sent your Lordship a parcell of scattered papers. (I reserve a Carte Loade) one roule of Tobacco, one Tortoyse, and some Oranges and Limmons, praying God to give you strength and health of body,

ly, and a mind armed against all extreamities. I rest ever to be commanded this 3. of January, 1617.

Your Lordships
KERMIS.

Now it seemes that the death of my Son, fearing also (as he told me when he came to *Trinidado*) that I was either dead of my first sicknesse, or that the news of my Sonnes death would have hastened my end, made him resolve not to open the Myne, to the which he added for excuse, and I thinke it was true, that the Spaniards being gone off in a whole body, lay in the Woods betweene the Myne and their passage, that it was impossible, except they had bin beaten out of the Country, to passe up the Woody and Craggy Hills without the losse of those Commanders which should have lead them, who had they been slaine, the rest, would easily enough have bin cut in

C 3 pieces

pieces in their retreate; for being in possession of the towne, which they guarded with the greatest part of three Companies, they had yet their handfull to defend themselves from fireing, and the daily and nightly Alarums, where with they were vexed. He also gave forth the excuse that it was impossible to lodge any Companies at the Myne for want of Viſtuall, which from the towne they were not able to carry up the mountaine their Companies being divided; He therefore as he told me thought it a greater error to discover it to the Spaniards, themselves neither being able to worke it, nor possesse it then to excuse himselfe to the Company, said that he could not find it; al which his fancies when I received, and before divers of the Gentlemen disavowed his ignorance, for I told him That a blind man might find it, by the marks which himself had set down under his hand, and that I told him that hi
care

care of loosing so many men in passing through the Woods, was but fained, for after my Sonne was slaine, I knew that he had no care at all of any man surviving, and therefore had he brought to the King but one hundred weight of the oare though with the losse of one hundred men, He had given his Majesty satisfaction, preserved my reputation, and given our Nation encouragement to have returned this next yeare, with greater force and to have held the Country for his Majesty to whom it belonged, and of which himselfe had given the testimony, that besides the excellent ayre, pleasantnesse, healthfulnesse, and riches: it hath plenty of Corne, Fruits, Fish, Fowle, wild and tame, Beeves, Horses, Sheepe, Hogs, Deeres, Coneys, Hares, Tortoysses, Armadiles, Wanaes, Oyles, Hony, Wax, Potatoes, Suger Canes, Medicaments, Balsamum, Simples, Gums, and what not; but seeing he had followed his

owne advice, and not mine, I should be forced to leave him arguments with the which if he could satisfy his Majesty, and the State, I should be glad of it, though for my part he must excuse me to justify it, that he, if it had pleased him, though with some losse of men might have gone directly to the place: with that he seemed greatly discontent, and so he continued divers dayes; afterward he came to me in my Cabbin, and shewed me a Letter which he had written to the Earl of *Arundell*, to whom he excused himself, for not discovering of the Myne: using the same arguments, and many others which he had done before, and prayed me to allow of his Apology; but I told him that he had undone me by his obstinacy, and that I would not favour or collour in any sort his former folly. He then asked me, whether that were my resolution, I answered, that it was: he then replied in these words, I know

not

not then Sir what course to take; and went out of my Cabbin into his own, in which he was no sooner entred, but I heard a Pistoll goe off. I sent up (not suspecting any such thing as the killing of himselfe) to know who shot a Pistoll, *Keymis* himself made answer lying on his Bed, that he had shot it off, because it had been long charged, with which I was satisfied; some half houre after this, the Boy going into his Cabbin, found him dead, having a long knife thrust under his left pap through his heart, and his Pistoll lying by him, with which it appeared that he had shot himselfe, but the Bullet lighting upon a rib, had but broken the rib and went no further. Now he that knew *Keymis*, did also know that he was of that obstinate resolution, and a man so far from caring to please or satisfie any man but my selfe, as no mans opinion from the greatest to the least could have perswaded him to have laid violent

lent hands on himselfe, neither would he have done it, when he did it, could he have said unto me, that he was ignorant of the Place, and knew no such Myne; for what cause had I then to have rejected his excuses, or to have laid his obstinacy to his charge; thus much I have added, because there are some Puppies which have given it out, that *Keymis* slew himselfe because he had seduced so many Gentlemen and others with an imaginary Myne; but as his Letter to me the 8. of *January* proves that he was then resolved to open it, and to take off all these kinds of objections; Let Captaine *Charls Parker*, Captaine *George Raleigh* and Captaine *King* all living and in *England*; be put to their oaths whether or no *Keymis* did not confesse to them coming down the River, at a place where they cast anker, that he could from that place have gone to the Myne in two hours, I say then that if the opening
of

of the Myne had bin at that time to any purpose; or had they had had any victualls left then, to bring them away, or had they not been hastned by seeing the King of *Spaines* Letters before they came to my hands, which I am assured *Keymis* had seene who delivered them to me, whereof one of them was dated at *Madrill* the 17 of *March* before I left the River of *Thames*, and with it, three other dispatches with a Commission for the strengthening of *Orrenoque* with 150 Souldiers, which should have come downe the River from the new Kingdome of *Granada*; and one other 150 from *Puerto Rico* with ten pieces of Ordnance which should have come up the River from the entrance, by which two Troupes they might have bin inclosed, I say had not the rest seene those dispatches; and that having stayed in the River above two months, they feared the hourelly arrivall of those forces, why had they
not

not constrained *Keymis* to have brought them to the Myne, being as himselfe confesses within two houres march. Againe, had the Companies Commanders but pincht the Governours man whom they had in their possession, he could have told them of two or three Gold Mynes and a Silver Myne not above foure miles from the Towne, and given them the names of their possessors; with the reason why they forbare to worke them at that time, and when they left off from working them, which they did aswell because they wanted Negroes, as because they feared least the English, French, or Dutch would have forced them from those being once thoroughly opened, having not sufficient strength to defend themselves; But to this, I have heard it said since my returne, that the Governours man was by me perswaded, being in my power, to say that such Mynes there were, when indeed there was no such thing

thing, Certainly they were but silly
fooles, that discovered this subtilty of
Mine, who having not yet by the long
Calenture that weakened me, lost all
my wits which I must have done, if I
had left my reputation in trust with a
Malato, who for a pot or two of Wine,
for a dozen of Hatchets, or a gay suite
of apparell would have confessed, that
I had taught him to speake of Mynes,
that were not in *Reram natura*, No I
protest before the Majesty of God, that
without any other agreements or pro-
mises of mine, then well usage, he hath
discovered to me, the way to five or
sixe of the richest Mynes which the
Spaniards have, and from whence, all
the Masse of Gold that comes into
Spaine in effect is drawne.

Lastly, when the Ships were come
downe the River as farre as *Carapana's*
Country (who was one of the naturall
Lords) and one that reserved that part
of *Guiana* to her Maje. hearing that the
English

English had abandoned St. Thome, and left no force in the Country, which he hoped they would have done, hee sent a great Canooe with store of fruits and Provisions to the Captains, and by one of his men which spake Spanish, having as it seemed bin long in their hands; hee offered them a rich Gold Myne in his own Country, knowing it to be the best argument to perswade their stay, and if it please them to send up any one of the English to view it, he would leave sufficient pledges for his safe returne. Master *Leake*, Master *Moleneux* and others offering themselves, which when the greater part refused (I know not by what reason lead) he sent againe, leaving one of his men still aboard to entreate them to tarry but two dayes, and he himselfe would come to them, and bring them a sample of the oare: for he was an exceeding old man, when I was first in the Country some twenty foure yeares since, which

which being also neglected, and the Ships under saile; he notwithstanding sent a Boat after them to the very mouth of the River in hope to perswade them: that this is true, witnesse Captaine *Parker*, Captaine *Leake*, Master *Stresham*, Master *Mauditt*, Master *Moleneux*, Master *Robert Hamon*, Master *Nicholes*, Captaine *King*, *Peter Andrews*, and I know not how many others; but besides his offer also, there hath not been wanting an argument though a foolish one; which was that the Spaniards, had employed the Indians with a purpose to betray our men, but this treason had been easily prevented, if they had stayed the old mans comming; who would have brought them the Gold oare aboarde their Ships, and what purpose could there be of treason when the Guianians offered to leave pledges six for one, yea one of the Indians which the English had aboarde them, whom they found

found in fetters when they tooke the towne of St. *Thome* could have told them, that the Cassique which sent unto them to shew them the Gold Myne in his Country, was unconquered ; and are enemies to the Spaniard, and could also have assured them, that this Cassique had Gold Mynes in his Country.

I say then, that if they would neither force *Keymis* to goe to the Myne, when he was by his owne confession, within two houres march of it ; to examine from whence these two Ingots of Gold which they brought me, were taken, which they found laid by for Kings *quinto* or fifth part ; or those small pieces of Silver, which had the same marks and stamps ; if they refused to send any one of the Fleete into the Country to see the Mynes which the Cassique *Carapana* offered them ; if they would not vouchsafe to stay two days for the comming
of

of *Carapana* himselfe, who would have brought them a sample of the Gold ore, I say, that, there is no reason to lay it to my charge; that I carryed them with a pretence of Gold, when neither *Keymis* nor my selfe knew of any in those parts: if it had bin to have gotten my liberty, why did I not keep my liberty when I had it, Nay why did I put my life in manifest peril to forgo it? if I had had a purpose to have turned Pyrate, why did I oppose my self against the greatest number of my Company, and was there by in danger to be slaine or cast into the Sea because I refused it?

A strange fancy had it been in me to have perswaded my Sonne whom I have lost, and to have perswaded my Wife to have adventured the 8000*l.* which his Majesty gave them for *Sherbone*, and when that was spent, to perswade my Wife to sell her house at *Micham*, in hope of enriching them by

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the

the Mynes of *Guiana*; if I my self had not seene them with my owne eyes for being old and weakely, thirty years in prison, and not used to the ayre to travell and to watching, it being tedious to one that I should ever have returned and to which by reason of my violent sicknesse, and the long continuance thereof, no man had any hope, what madnesse could have made me undertake this journey but the assurance of the Myne, thereby to have done his Majestie service, to have bettered my Country by the trade, and to have restored my Wife and Children their Estates; they had lost for that, I have refused all other ways or means, for that I had a purpose to have changed my Master, and my Country, my returne in the state I did returne make satisfie every honest and indifferent man.

An unfortunate man I am, and it is to me a greater losse then all I have lost

most, that it pleaseth his Majestie to be
offended for the burning of a Spanish
towne in *Guiana*; of which these
parts bordering the River *Orrenoque*,
and to the South as farre as the Ama-
zones doth by the Law of Nations be-
long to the Crowne of *England*, as
his Majestie was well resolved when I
prepared to goe thither, otherwise his
Majesty would not have given once
leave to have landed there; for I set it
downe under my hand that I intended
that enterprize and nothing else, and
that I meant to enter the Country by
the River of *Orrenoque*; It was not
held to be a breach of peace neither by
the State here nor the Spanish Amba-
sador who knew it aswell as I, that I
pretended the journey of *Guiana* which
he alwaies held to be a pretence; for he
said it to Master Secretary *Windode* and
to others of my Lords; that if I meant
to sayle to *Guiana*, and had no intent
to invade any part of his Majesties

West Indies nor his Fleets, I should not need to strengthen my selfe as I did, for I should worke any Myne there, without any disturbance and in peace, to which I made answer, that I had set it under my hand to his Majesty that I had no other purpose, nor meant to undertake any thing else; but for the rest, that *Sir John Haukins* in his journey, to *St. John de Loa*, notwithstanding that he had leave of the Spanish King to trade in all parts of the West Indies, and having the Plate Fleete in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of Silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places, was set upon by *Don Henrico de Martines* whom he suffered (to save him from perishing) to enter the Porte; upon *Martins* faith, and enterchanged pledges delivered, he had *Jesus of Lubeck* a Ship of her Majesties of a 1000 tun burnt; had his men slain which hee left on the Land; lost his Ordnance, and all the treasure which he

he had got by Trade ; what reason had
I to goe unarmed upon the Ambassa-
dours promises, whose words and
thoughts that they were one, it hath wel
appeared since then, as well by the for-
ces which he perswaded his Master to
send to *Guiana* to encounter me, and
cut me off there ; as by his persecuting
of me since my returne ; who have nei-
ther invaded his Masters Indies, nor
his Fleet, whereof he stood in doubt.

True it is, that the Spaniards can-
not endure that the English Nation
should looke upon any part of *Ameri-
ca*, being above a fourth part of the
whole knowne world ; and the hun-
dred part neither possessed by the Spar-
niards, nor to them knowne, as *Acosta*
the Jesuit in his description of the
West Indies doth confesse, and well
know to be true : No though the King
of *Spaine* can pretend no other title to
all that he hath not conquered, then
the Popes donation ; for from the

straits of *Megellan* to the river of *Plate* being a greater territory then al that the Spaniards possesse in *Peru* or *Chile*, and from *Cape St. Augustines* to *Trinidad* being a greater extrent of Land then all which he possesses in *Nova Spaine*, or elsewhere, they have not one foote of ground in their possession, neither for the greatest part of it so much as in their owne knowledge.

In *Orrenoque* they have lately set up a Wooden Towne, and made a kind of a Forte, but they have never been able either to Conquer the *Guianians* nor to reconcile them, but the *Guianians* before their planting, they did willingly resigne all that territory to his Majesty, who by me promised to receive them, and defend them against the Spaniards; and though I were Prisoner for this last fourreene year yet I was at the charge every yeare, and every second yeare, to send unto them to keepe them in hope of being relie-

ved. And as I have said before the greatest of the naturall Lords, did offer us a rich Myne of Gold in his owne Country in hope to hold us there; And if this usurped possession of the Spaniards be a sufficient bar to his Majesties right; and that thereby the King of *Spaine* calls himselfe King of *Guiana*, why might he not aswell call himselfe Duke of *Brittaine*, because hee tooke possession of *Blewett*, and built a Forte there; and calls himselfe King of *Ireland*; because he tooke possession at *Smerike* and built a Forte there.

If the Ambassadour had protested to his Majesty that my going to *Guiana* before I went would be a breach to the peace, I am perswaded that his Majesty if he had not bin resolved that *Guiana* had been his would have stayed me, but if it be not thought to be a breach of Peace not for the going thither (for that cannot be) because I had no other intent, and went with leave;

but for taking and burning of a Spanish towne in the Country, certainly, if the Country be the King of *Spains*, it had been no lesse a breach of Peace to have wrought any Myne of his, and to have rob'd him of his Gold; then it is now cald'd a breach of peace to take a towne of his in *Guiana* and burne it, and with as good reason might I have bin called a thiefe and a robber of the King of *Spaine*, if the Country be not his Majesties, as I am now pursued for the Invasion; for either the Country is the King of *Spains* or not the Kings; if it be the Kings, I have not then offended; if it be not the Kings, I must have perished, if I had but taken Gold out of the Mynes there, though I had found no Spaniards in the Country.

For conclusion, if we had had any peace with the Spaniards in those parts of the world; why did even those Spaniards, which were now encountered

in

in *Guiana*, tye six and thirty English men out of Master *Walls* Ship of *London* and mine back to back, and cut their throats, after they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them a shore; having not so much as a sword, or any other weapon, among them all, and if the Spaniards to our complaints made answer, that there was nothing in the treatie against our trading in the Indies, but that we might trade at our perill; I trust in God that the word perill shall ever be construed to be indifferent to both Nations; otherwise we must for ever abandon the Indies, and loose all our knowledge, and our Pylotage of that part of the world: if we have no other peace then this; how can there be a breach of peace, which e're the Spaniards with all Nations, and all Nations with them may trade upon their guard.

The readiest way that the Spaniards

ards Ambassadour could have taken, to have stayd me from going to *Guiana*; had bin to have discovered the great practises which I had with his Master against the King my Sovereigne Lord in the first yeare of his Majesties Reigne of Great *Brittaine*, for which I lost my estate and lay thirteene years in the Tower of *London*, and not to urge my offences in *Guiana*; to which his Master hath no title other then his sword, is with which to this day, he hath not conquered the least of these Nations, and against whom contrary to the Catholick profession, his Captains have entertained, and doe entertaine whole Nations of Canniballs; for in a Letter of the Governours to the King of *Spaine* of the eighth of *July*: he not only complaineth that the *Guianians* are in Armes against him, but that ever those Indians which under their noses live, doe in despite of all the Kings edicts trade

trade with *Los Flamnicos & Engleses*,
enemicos, With the Flemish, and Eng-
lish enemies, never once naming the
English Nations but with the Epi-
theton of an enemy.

But in truth the Spanish Ambassa-
dour hath complained against me to
no other end, then to prevent my com-
plaints against the Spaniards. Who
landing my men in a territory apper-
taining to the Crowne of *England*;
they were invaded and slaine before
any violence offered to the Spaniards;
and I hope that the Ambassadour doth
not esteeme us for so wretched and
miserable a people, as to offer our
throats to their swords without any
manner of resistance; howsoever, I
have said it already, and I will say it
again; that if *Guiana* be not his Ma-
jesties, the working of a Myne there;
and the taking of a towne there; had
been equally perillous, for by doing
the one, I had rob'd the King of *Spaine*
and

and bin a thiefe; and by the other a disturber or breaker of the peace.

*A Letter of Sir WALTER
RAWLEIGH to my
Lord Carevv touching
Guiana.*

BEcause I know not whether I shall live, to come before the Lords, I have for his Majesties satisfaction here set downe as much as I can say, either for mine owne defence, or against my selfe, as things are now construed.

It is true, that though I acquainted his Majesty with my intent to Land in *Guiana*, yet I never made it knowne to his Majesty that the Spaniards had any footing there; neither had I any authority by Patent, to remove them from thence, and therefore his Majesty had no interest in the attempt of *Saint Thome* by any foreknowledge in his Majesty.

But

But knowing his Majesties title to the Country to be best, and most Christian, because the naturall Lords did most willingly acknowledge Queene *Elizabeth* to be their Sovereigne, who by me promised to defend them from the Spanish cruelty, I made no doubt but I might enter the Land by force, seeing the Spaniards had no other title but force, (the Popes donation excepted) considering also that they had got a possession there divers yeares since my possession for the Crowne of *England*, for were not *Guiana* his Majesties, then might I aswell have bin questioned for a thiefe, for taking the Gold out of the King of *Spains* Mynes, as the Spaniards doe now call me a peace breaker; for, from any territory that belongs to the King of *Spaine*, it is no more lawfull to take Gold, then lawfull for the Spaniards to take Tinne out of *Cornemall*, were this possession of theirs a sufficient Bar to
his

his Majesties Right, the Kings of *Spain* may as well call themselves Dukes of *Brittaine*, because they held *Blewet*, and fortified there; and Kings of *Ireland* because they possessed *Smereck* and fortified there, and so in other places.

That his Majesty was well resolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, because the English both under Master *Charls Leigh* and Master *Harecourt* had leave to plant and inhabite the Country.

The *Orrenoque* it selfe, had long ere this had 5000. English in it, I assure my selfe, had not my employment at *Cales*, the next yeare after my returne from *Guiana*, and after that our journey to the Islands hindered me, for those two years after with *Tirones* Rebellion, made her Majesty unwilling that any great number of Ships or men should be taken out of *England*, till that rebellion were ended, and lastly, her Majesties death, my long imprisonment

ment gave time to the Spaniards to set up a towne of sticks covered with leaves of trees upon the banke of *Orronoque*, which they call *St. Thome*, but they have neither reconciled nor Conquered any of the *Cassiques* or naturall Lords of the Country, which *Cassiques* are still in armes against them, as by the Governours Letter to the King of *Spaine*, may appeare: That by landing in *Guiana* there can be any breach of peace, I thinke it (under favour) impossible, for to breake peace where there is no peace, it cannot be, that the Spaniards give us no peace there, it doth appeare by the Kings Letters to the Governour, that they should put to death all those Spaniards and Indians that trade, *Con los Engleses Enemigos* with English enemies: yea those very Spaniards which we encountred at *St. Thome*, did of late years murder six and thirty of Master *Hales* men of *London*, and mine, who
landed

landed without weapon, upon the Spaniards faith to trade with them, Master Thorne also in *Tower-street* in *London* besides many other English were in like sort murthered in *Orrenoque*, the yeare before my deliverie out of the *Tower*.

Now if this kind of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies, betweene us and the Spaniards, but if this be cruell Warre and hatred, and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt; Againe, how doth it stand with the greatnesse of the King of *Spaine*, first to call us enemies, when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then having failed, to call us peace breakers: for to be an enemy and a peace breaker in one and the same action is impossible.

But the King of *Spaine* in his Letters to the Governour of *Guiana*, dated at *Madrill* the 29 of *March*, before we left the *Thames*, calls us *Engleses enemigos*

migos, English enemies.

If it had pleased the King of *Spaine* to have written to his Majesty. in seaven months time, for we were so long in preparing, and have made his Majesty know, that our landing in *Guiana* would draw after it a breach of peace, I presume to thinke, that his Majesty would have staied our enterprise for the present.

This he might have done with lesse charge, then to leavy three hundred souldiers and transport ten pieces of Ordnance from *Portarico*, which souldiers added to the Garrison of *St. Thome*: had they arrived before our comming, had overthrowne all our raw companies, and there would have followed no complaints.

For the maine point of landing neer *St. Thome*, it is true, that we were of opinion, that we must have driven the Spaniards out of the towne, before we could passe the thick woods upon the

E mountaines

mountaines of the Myne, which I confesse I did first resolve upon, but better bethinking my selfe, I reserved the taking of the towne, to the goodnesse of the Myne, which if they found to be so rich, as it might perswade the leaving of the Garrison, then to drive the Spaniards thence, but to have burnt was never my intent, neither could they give me any reason why they did it, upon their returne I examined the Serjeant-Major and *Keymis* why they followed not my last directions for the triall of the Myne before the taking of the towne, and they answered me, that although they durst hardly, goe to the Myne leaving a Garrison of Spaniards, between them and their Boats, yet they offended their latter directions, and did Land, betweene the towne and the Myne.

And that the Spaniards without any manner of parley set upon them unawares, and charged them, calling them

Perros

Perros Ingleses, & by Skirmishing with them, they drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were; so that if any peace had bin in those parts, the Spaniards first brake the peace, and made the first slaughter, for as the English could not but Land to seeke the Myne, being come thither to that end, so being first reviled, and charged by the Spaniards, they could doe no lesse then repell force by force; lastly it isa matter of no small consequence to acknowledge that wee have offended the King of *Spaine* by landing in *Guiana*.

For first it weakens his Majesties title to the Country or quits it; Secondly, there is no King that hath ever given the least way to any other King or State in the traffick of the lives or goods of his Subjects, to wit in our case, that it shall be lawfull for the Spaniards to murder us, either by force or treason, and unlawfull for us to

defend our selves and pay them with their owne Coyne, for this superiority and inferiority is a thing which no absolute Monarch ever yeilded to, or ever will.

Thirdly, it shews the English bears greater respect to the Spaniard, and is more doubtfull of his forces, then either the French or Dutch is, who daily invade all parts of the Indies with not being questioned at their returne, yea at my owne being at *Plimouth*, a French Gentleman called *Flory* went thence with foure saile, and three hundred Land men, with Commission to land and burne, and to sack all places in the Indies that he could master, and yet the French King hath married the daughter of *Spaine*.

This is all that I can say, other then that I have spent my poore estate, lost my sonne, and my health, and endured as many sorts of miseries, as ever man did, in hope to do his Majesty acceptable

ceptable service ; And have not to my understanding committed any hostile act, other then entrance upon a territory belonging rightly to the Crowne of *England*, where the English were first set upon and slaine by the usurping Spaniards, I invaded no other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards.

I returned into *England* with manifest perill of my life, with a purpose not to hold my life, with any other then his Majesties grace, and from which no man, nor any perill could dissuade me ; To that grace, and goodnesse, and Kinglynesse I referre my self, which if it shall find that I have not yet suffered enough, it yet may please to adde more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life.

Sir Walter Rawleigh his Answer
to some things at his
Death.

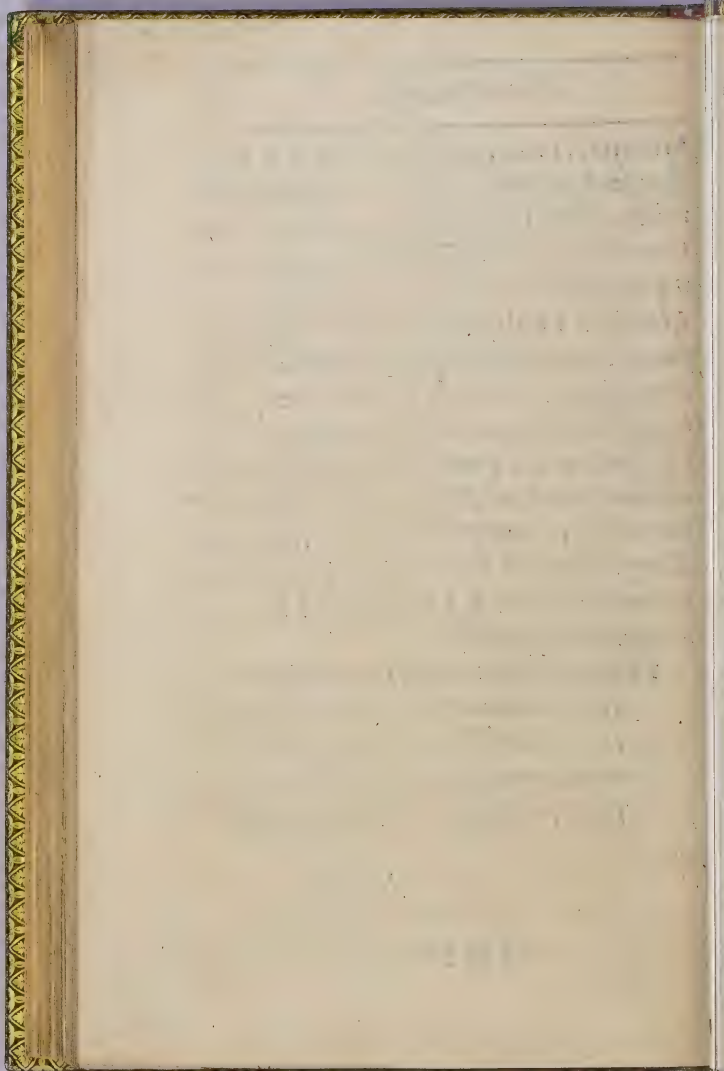
I Did never receive any direction from my Lord Carew to make any escape, nor did I ever tell Stukely any such thing. I did never name my Lord Hay and my Lord Carew to Stukeley in other words or sence, then to my honourable friends, among other Lords. I did never shew unto Stukely any Letter, wherein there was 10000 named or any one pound, only I told him, that I hoped to procure the payment of his debts in his absence. I never had Commission from the French King, I never saw the French Kings hand or seale in my life. I never had any plot or practise with the French directly or indirectly, nor with any other Prince or State unknowne to the King. My true intent was to goe to a Myne of Gold in Guiana

Guiana, it was not fained, but it is true, that such a Myne there is within three miles of St. Thome, I never had in my thought to goe from Trinidado, and leave my Companies to come after to the savage Island, as Hatby Fearne hath falsly reported. I did not carry with me an hundred pieces, I had with me sixty, and brought back neer the said number, I never spake to the French Manerling any one disloyall word, or dishonourable speech of the King; nay if I had not loved the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I know that I had not now suffered death.

These things are most true as there is a God, and as I am now to appeare before his tribunall seate, where I renounce all mercy, and salvation, if this be not the truth. At my death

W. R.

FINIS.



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11. A description of the New-borne Christian, or a Lively Patterne of the Saint militant, child of God, written by *Nicholas Hunt*, 4°

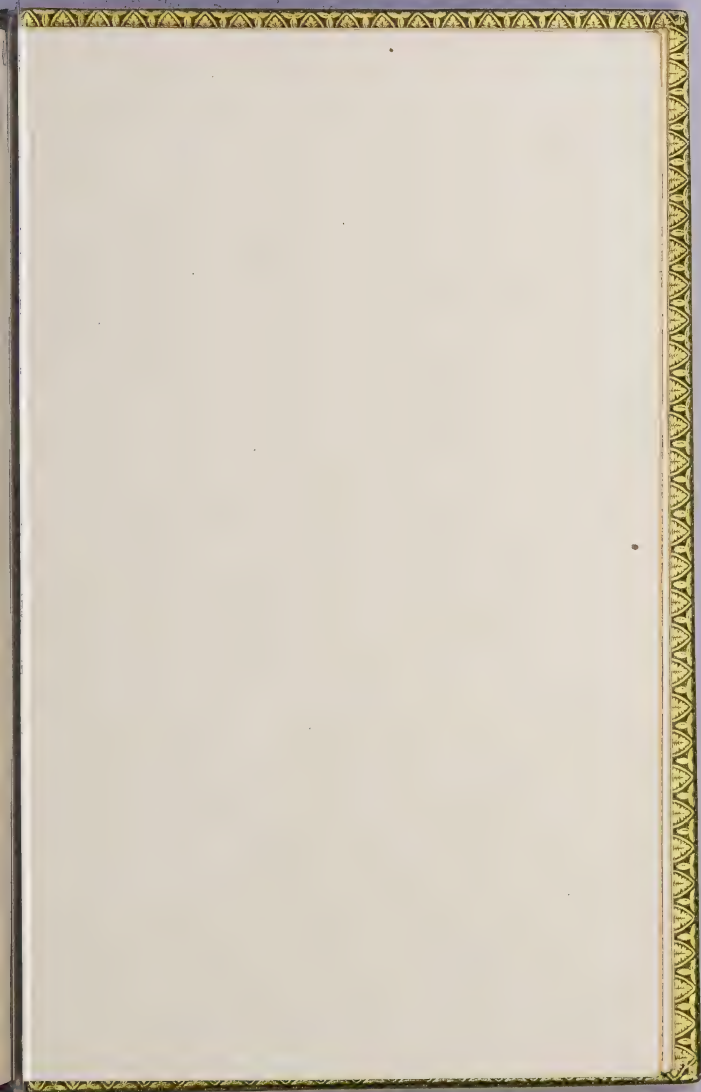
12. The Tyranny of Sathan, in a Recantation Sermon at *St Pauls Crosse*, by *T. Gage*, in 4°.

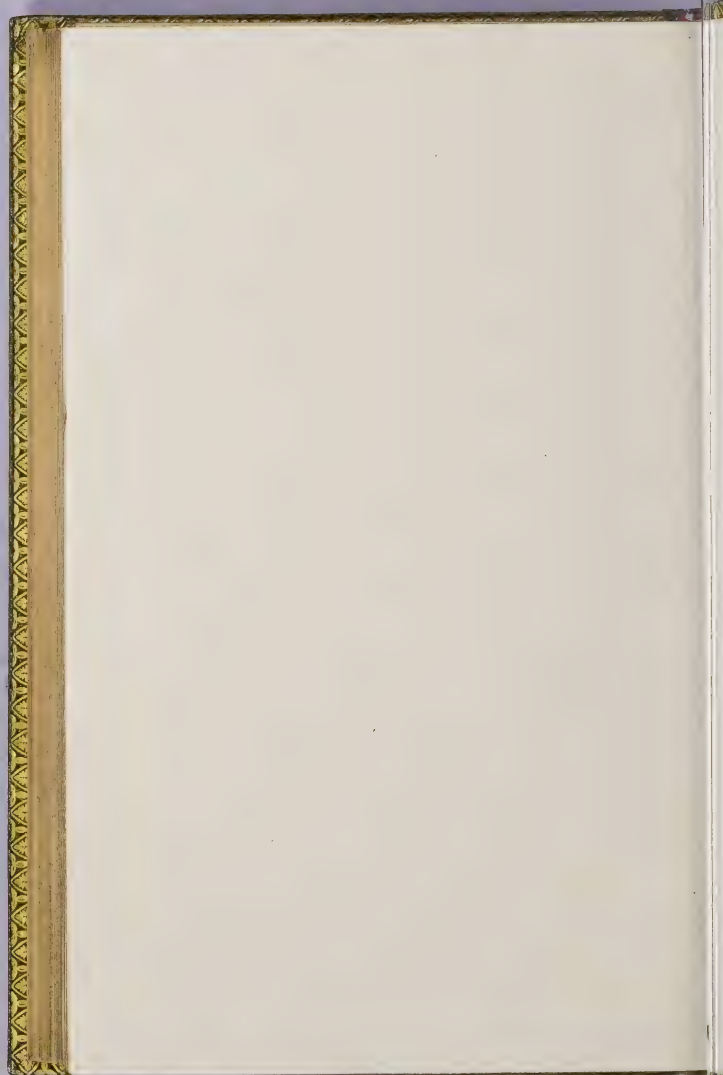
13. The True and absolute Bishop, wherein is shewed how *Christ* is our only shepheard, and Bishop of our souls, by *Nicholas Darton*, in 4°.

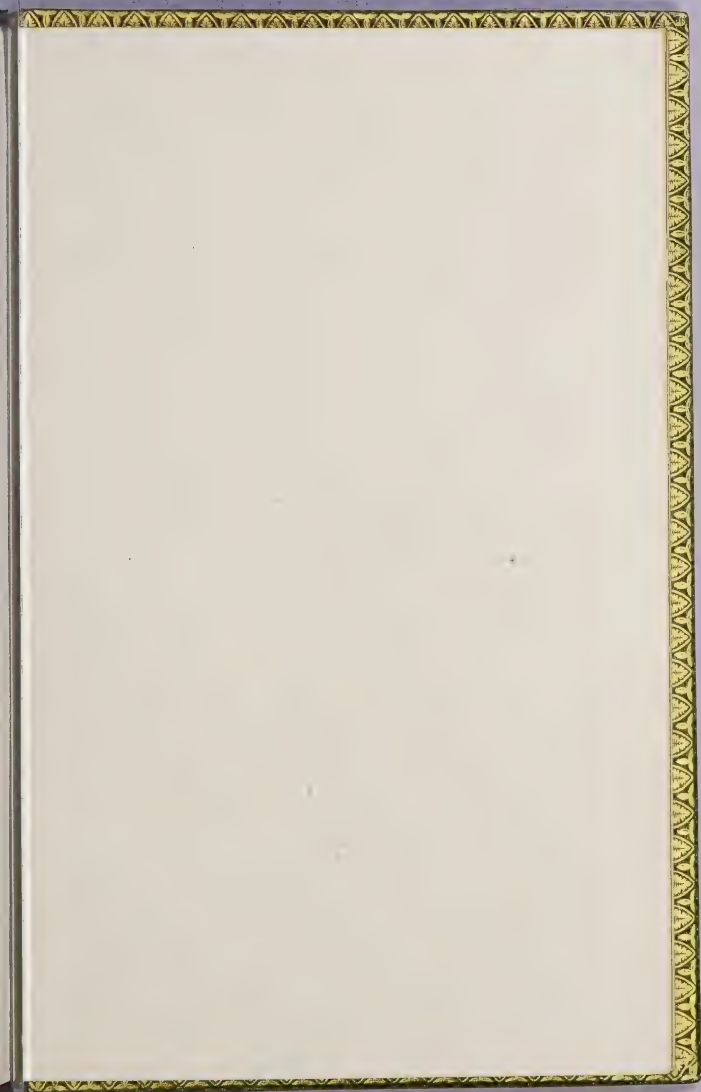
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